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IN THIS ISSUE

EDITORIALS

This is the Day 529
Conference Notes *by Freda Kirchwey* 531
Feeding Our Friends 532
Looking to the Pacific 533

ARTICLES

Anti-Russian Undertow *by I. F. Stone* 534
Address to the German People *by Thomas Mann* 535
World Labor at San Francisco *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 536
Berlin: a Necrology *by Martin Gumpert* 538
Fascism Without Mussolini—I *by Mario Rossi* 539
Lilienthal and the Valley *by Barrett C. Shelton* 544
In the Wind 545

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Notes by the Way *by Margaret Marshall* 546
Work of Art *by Martin Lebowitz* 547
Briefer Comment 548
Fiction in Review *by Diana Trilling* 550
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 553
Films *by James Agee* 554

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 555

CROSSWORD PUZZLE NO. 115 *by Jack Barrett* 556

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This Is The Day

THIS is the day for which free men of all nations in the world have longed and prayed and given up their lives. Fascism as a system of power and terror is dead. The black night is over. It is strange, then, that after the first lift to the spirit which the news of victory in Europe brings, the mind sinks back into the foreboding that has become its habit for more than a decade. Partly it is the realization that the other war in the Pacific must now be brought to its peak of effort. But perhaps it is also that we are unprepared for victory. To us in America, with our cities unbombed, our shores untouched, the lights cannot appear so bright as to the citizens of London, of Moscow, of Paris. Perhaps we have supp'd too full of horrors: the concentration camps, the pulverized cities, the millions of torn bodies, have used up our imaginative emotions so that the words of victory have lost their meaning. Perhaps, with Max Lerner, who wrote the most perceptive piece we have seen on Hitler's death, we realize that if Hitler was himself evil "he could not have succeeded had there not been evil potential in men"; if Hitler had a hysterical will he would have failed "had not the collective will of the world been ready for fragmentation." If we have overwhelmed Nazism we have yet to eradicate the evil in our civilization from which it issued as a plague. It may be that in this hour of victory our minds are divided between General Eisenhower's headquarters in Europe and the Opera House in San Francisco. The shock to the average decent American of the admission of Argentina to the United Nations went very deep. The anxiety over the Polish issue was more than a fear that we might break with a great nation whose armies have shared the glory of victory with our armies. Failure at San Francisco would make meaningless much of the victory in Europe. For in these days we think back to beginnings—to Ethiopia, to Spain, to the first victims of concentration camp torture who were Germans and Austrians, to Czechoslovakia betrayed, to the shameful days of appeasement, to the relief of war after the months of frayed nerves. We think back to the small heroes of the war, whose names never reached dispatches, who piloted the little boats across the Channel on the day of Dunkirk, who fought fire and carried on rescue work during the worst days of the London blitz, who organized and kept alive underground resistance in Norway, in the Low Countries, in France, in Yugoslavia, who manned the merchant vessels on the Murmansk run, who fell on the beach at Dieppe a year and a half before the final D-Day. This hour belongs to them: many of them are not here to celebrate it. This is the victory they worked and fought and died for. Rather it is the beginning of the victory.

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THE BREAKING UP OF THE MODEL MONOLITHIC state on such a titanic scale was bound to be awe-inspiring. What could not be foreseen was that the smash would come so quickly when it did come. The great complex of German armies, armaments, supply systems, lines of communication, defense zones, and integrated administration appeared too formidable to be broken with such suddenness. But the pressure of Allied arms, skilfully directed against a Germany badly overstrained from the ceaselessly damaging attacks of Allied bombers, proved irresistible. So the terrible Hitlerian nightmare ends in the darkness from which it sprang. Death and destruction have been visited upon Germany in the highest degree, and everywhere the tired, beaten soldiers are filing into prisoner inclosures. Yet so completely was the German state organized for war that even this great breaking up does not occur in one day or two: "Total victory" has already taken more than a week as this is written. The facts of this defeat and the vistas opened for Europe's future are too overwhelming to allow of any prolonged celebration. There can only be deep satisfaction that the bloody business is finished and high praise for the men who did the job.

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PIERRE LAVAL, WHO LANDED CONFIDENTLY IN Franco's Spain the other day, was surprised and hurt to discover that Spain had promised to turn over war criminals to the United Nations. Indeed, he said that if he had known it he wouldn't have come. We sympathize with him in a way. How was he to suspect, in Germany, that Spain had gone over to the Allied side? Even in this country there are those who haven't been convinced.

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THAT LEON BLUM AND LARGO CABALLERO ARE free and in Paris is wonderful news. The absence of their names from the earlier list of leaders, including Herriot, Reynaud, and Daladier, rescued by the Allied armies, had filled us with deep apprehension. Among the prominent hostages Hitler had brought into Germany these two men were the most exposed to last-hour vengeance at the hands of the Gestapo. As a Jew and a Socialist Blum was bitterly hated by the Nazis, while the former Spanish Premier, a labor leader and also a Socialist, surely reminded them of Spain's magnificent resistance to their first offensive against the democratic West. During the German occupation of France both had shown extraordinary courage—Blum by reversing the roles of accused and accuser at the Riom trial, where he launched a brilliant attack upon the traitors of Vichy; Caballero by refusing to make use of the visa which the American government on the plea of hundreds of liberals had granted him. From a purely human point of view the safe return of these two leaders is profoundly moving. One is seventy-three, the other seventy-eight, and according to reports the elder, Caballero, is in remarkably good health. The return of Blum, like that of Herriot, is bound to have an effect on political developments in France. The post of leader of the Socialist Party has been held open for him, and, from the first number printed after liberation, *Le Populaire* has carried the name of Léon Blum on its masthead as director in exile. As for Caballero, it seems certain that he will become an important factor in the efforts to bring together the Spanish Republican groups. Though he was in frank opposition to Negrín much has happened since then which may have influenced a man known for his stubborn character but also for his unquestionable integrity.

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THE ALREADY FAMOUS CARTOON BY LOW which is carried in this week's *Nation* points up the significance of the announcement that a German anti-Nazi prisoner from the notorious Buchenwald camp has been selected to be the Mayor of Weimar. Perhaps the most diabolical aim of the Nazis was to eliminate entirely the group from which a new free Germany might some day arise. Only last July they made their final attempt to round up all those who held minor positions in the former Social Democratic, Communist, and Catholic parties. The bodies of many of these are to be found in the pitiful heaps in the courtyards of the charnel houses. But some survived. How difficult will be the task of recreating a decent society out of the physical, economic, and moral waste that is Germany is beyond the power of the human mind to grasp. The summary justice meted out to the most flagrant Nazi criminals will be the merest beginning. Afterward there is the long road not back but forward to something more robust than the well-meaning but spineless Weimar Republic. It is good to know that our military-government authorities recognize the best guides for that road. But they will need our support if Nazism is to be utterly abandoned and the goal of a new European democracy is to be reached.

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ONLY A FORTNIGHT AFTER VIENNA'S LIBERATION by the Red Army the Russians announced the formation of a provisional Austrian government headed by Dr. Karl Renner, a former right-wing Social Democrat. Renner, a septuagenerian now, was Chancellor in 1918-20 when a coalition of Social Democrats and Christian Socialists organized the Austrian Republic. Both London and Washington showed "surprise" over the new government; it is said that the Russians violated a pledge to let a tripartite inter-Allied commission administer Austria. The new government is again a coalition, but now of Social Democrats, Communists, Christian Socialists, and some non-partisan experts. Renner himself is a well-proved democratic statesman who was always in favor of constructive cooperation with the Christian Socialists. The two outstanding Christian Socialists of the new regime, Leopold Kunschak and Rudolf Buchinger, also over seventy, have been leaders of the Christian Socialist Workmen's Association and of the farmers' cooperative movement, respectively. Corresponding with Russia's position of power in Austria, the Communists hold the Ministry of the Interior (with police and gendarmerie) and probably also the Ministry of National Defense. The key position of Minister for Public Instruction and Religion is also held by a Communist, Ernst Fischer, who has been the Austrian voice on the Moscow radio during the war years. He will obviously become the propaganda minister of the new regime. The Americans, British, and French will probably restore the traditional regional governments in the Austrian federal lands outside Vienna and thereby oppose a federalist system to the centralism to which the Russian-sponsored Renner government

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in Vienna might be inclined. Always midway between East and West, Austria may well become the test case of cooperation between Russia and the Western allies.

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THE KEY TO THE DEADLOCK IN THE HOUSE on Mrs. Norton's bipartisan bill for establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee is to be found at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. A few days before last fall's Presidential election Mr. Truman said to a Liberal Party rally in New York: "President Roosevelt established the Fair Employment Practice Committee to prevent job discrimination. The President now proposes permanent legislation to maintain the open door in industry. I have always voted in favor of appropriations for the FEPC." This was not only an unequivocal assertion of support for the proposal but also a significantly accurate description of its purposes. It is as good an answer as could be devised to those who seek to sabotage the Norton bill by likening it to Prohibition and calling it moralistic legislation designed to outlaw racial prejudice and promote social equality. The bill is of course nothing of the sort. It aims simply to outlaw the *effects* of prejudice in the practical realm of economic opportunity. As such, it is, for Negroes in particular, a touchstone to test the real meaning of American democracy. Negroes will judge President Truman by what he does on this issue. A word from him would quickly bring the additional signatures necessary to complete Mrs. Norton's petition for release of her bill from the reactionary Rules Committee. We hope that he will speak this word soon.

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IT WAS AN OPEN AND SHUT CASE. THE THREE defendants, two of whom were A. W. O. L. privates, had been on a two-day drinking party and one of them had had a bright idea. "There's some Japs here I don't like," he said. "They've got a packing shed. Let's burn it down." At the trial in Auburn, California, the defendants admitted setting fire to Summio Doi's shed; they did not conceal the fact that after Doi and his parents beat out the flames they returned the next night in an attempt to dynamite the shed. Facts and witnesses were offered by the prosecution but not by the defense, which proudly denied no charges. It didn't have to. After all, this is the U. S. A. and the defendants were loyal white Americans—nothing yellow about them. They stood their ground and relied on Defense Attorney Floyd Bowers's summation, which relied on the Bataan Death March, other Japanese atrocities, and the fact that "this is a white man's country" to do the trick. It did. The jury took two hours to return a verdict of not-guilty. Not long—but after all it was an open and shut case.

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THE FREE MAN IN AMERICA WAS FOUND IN Mexico City's garbage heaps at about the same time that Argentina was invited to the San Francisco Conference. But don't be alarmed. "The Free Man in America" is a book written by Mexican Foreign Minister Ezequiel Padilla, the very same who moved to extend the invitation to Argentina. Delegates to the recent Mexico City Conference that paved the way for Argentina's come-back were presented with autographed copies. Most of the delegates stayed at the Hotel Reforma, and most of the several hundred scrapped copies were found in that hotel's garbage heap. No reflection on the book or subject, we are sure, but simply a demonstration of the fact that diplomats must travel light these days; "The Free Man in America" was obviously excess baggage.

Conference Notes

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

San Francisco, May 7

VICTORY in Europe has brought overwhelming relief rather than excitement to San Francisco. The end, coming as it had to come, in separate surrenders of scattered armies spread over days rather than in a general surrender by a single high command, emphasized the total collapse of the great centralized tyranny that was Hitler's Reich. Now at last, after twelve years, the prison doors are blown open and the world's most efficient terror is over. Now the job of recovery begins. It involves punishment of the Nazi hierarchy, rehabilitation of the people, reconstruction of a ruined continent. But more than these it means creating a society proof against the rise of new fascist tyrannies and new wars. Part of this job is being attempted here in San Francisco. But the difficulty of agreeing upon even the basic principles of international order shows how much remains to be done before the world, even the western world, conquers the enemy still in the field—political reaction and the economic power it defends. Victory over these forces, tougher and more aggressive than Hitler's Wehrmacht, is still ahead.

The Argentine decision let loose a whole swarm of nasty consequences, some of which are mentioned by I. F. Stone in his story this week. One of the most unfortunate is the widespread impression that the American countries, minus Canada, now form a solid voting bloc which will outnumber any other probable grouping in the Assembly of the world security organization. I talked to many newspapermen and a handful of delegates, and every one of them raised this issue of balance of power. One very conservative correspondent said seriously that the vote on Argentina had ended the chance of creating a system through which the smaller states could influence policy, while it had cracked open the nuclear alliance between Russia and the West. A delegate of a "middle" power said that Russia would be justified in demanding sixteen votes instead of three "and even then it couldn't match the American bloc." A Canadian remarked cynically: "Where is that famous British bloc the Russians were so worried about? It never existed, but now perhaps we'll have to invent it." A French Communist correspondent said almost the same thing. He added: "It startled us Europeans. We'd never thought of the Americans as a unit—especially a reactionary one."

This interpretation is an exaggerated one, as *Nation* readers will realize. Even the unanimous vote on Argentina concealed an intricate background of maneuvering—Latin American suspicion of State Department intentions, resentment of unilateral decisions, fear of Argentina itself, a whole complex which cannot be understood without a detailed study of the record. Few non-American delegates know this

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record. Worst of all, the Russians don't know it. But the truth is that the Latin American nations have never been and are not now united, among themselves or with us. The influence of the State Department is compounded of one part good-will to about four parts lend-lease. While we may use our immense power to hold those countries more or less in line and continue to cooperate with the Catholic church to prevent revolutionary change, the chances are that both money and propaganda will largely dry up after the war. In that case the Latin American republics will fast revert to normal, which means that they will be anxious to assert their individual claims as sovereign states and to appeal to the new world organization over the head of their domineering big neighbor. Their action in the case of Argentina cannot be taken as a fair sample of hemispheric solidarity.

A ghost appeared at the Argentine feast the other day—not the ghost of Banquo but of Franco. It could not be exorcised, though the presiding hosts did their best. Even in the meeting of the Steering Committee, where the Argentine deal was shoved through, one of the delegates (I wish I could give his name, for he deserves credit, but I must protect both him and the person who told me) asked directly whether the admission of Argentina would not establish a precedent which might make it possible for Franco to come into the security organization later on. Anthony Eden raised his hands in a gesture of horror and repudiation and said, "Oh, oh!" But afterward he admitted that an awkward situation might develop if Franco or one or two other neutrals—he was thinking of Eire—tried to get in on the same grounds. The question of Franco was also raised in the Executive Committee. All this is gratifying since the chief obstacle the friends of the Spanish Republic had met before the Argentine incident occurred was the bland assertion, especially in high British and American quarters, that the whole question of Spain was irrelevant and could not possibly become an issue at San Francisco. It is an issue now, as everyone knows who has been listening to the radio this past week. It will become even more acute within a few days.

Everybody is surprised at the rather ineffectual role played here by the French. It is not hard to explain. First, France was not included in the inner group of powers; it was the Big Four, not the Big Five. Second, Bidault is not on the best terms with De Gaulle, and so perhaps hesitates to take positions on controversial questions. Third, his delegation is not a strong or a young one. Too many pre-war names appear on the list. Fourth, France is shattered, disorganized, hungry, stripped of its wealth and man-power, and terribly dependent on the United States for material help. As the result of all these things France has not assumed in San Francisco its proper position as leader of the new democratic Europe, the Europe that resisted Hitler through four years of occupation and terror. It follows Britain and the United States, works to get itself recognized as a great power, but does little that would stamp it as great. I hope and believe the vote in the recent elections will serve as a reminder to the delegation that it is not enough to stand up stoutly for the acceptance of French as one of the two official languages of the conference and then fail to vote against admitting Argentina in spite of an obvious wish to do so. France will be great in the years to come only if it represents the whole meaning of the resistance movement. There are many French men and women here who know that, delegates, labor men, and writers. They analyze the policy of the delegation with sharp realism, but they do not direct policy.

Feeding Our Friends

RELIEF for liberated Europe is a problem in publicity as well as in the allocation of scarce supplies. Judge Rosenman took note of this fact in the final recommendation of his report last week to President Truman. "Since allocation of civilian supplies to liberated countries, in all probability, will cut into the ration of the American consumer," he said, "a widespread official and public campaign should be undertaken to inform the American people of the gravity of the needs of our allies in liberated Europe."

A campaign of this sort has been made imperative by the irresponsible scare talk about over-all food shortage, even famine, in America which has emanated from some of the food trades, from the old-line farm agencies, and from meat packers and big livestock men. The Farm Bureau and the Grange have resisted full production out of a fear of post-war surpluses; the slaughterers and cattle growers are seeking additional profit incentive to produce. Their spokesmen on Capitol Hill, especially in the Senate's food-investigating committee, preach the new isolationism by projecting vague fears of disaster for the nation if we play a responsible part in meeting the world's need.

Sending food to Europe entails no danger of hunger for America, not even any impairment of our nutritional standards. It does entail continued rationing—even more stringent rationing in some items—and a renunciation of some of the delicacies to which we are accustomed but which we do not actually need. The magnitude of the sacrifices we shall be called upon to endure was suggested just lately in the announcement of a 25 per cent cut in the value of sugar-ration stamps. For a people notoriously sweet-toothed, whose average consumption of sugar increased from 87.3 pounds in 1921 to 103.6 pounds in 1941, this is undoubtedly an inconvenience. But surely we can endure it, and with good grace, when we understand that it will enable other human beings to live. The picture must be presented to the American people in perspective. No one can make the presentation so effectively as President Truman himself.

"The most immediate and urgent needs common to all northwest European countries," says the Rosenman report, "are certain types of food, coal, coal-mining equipment, and the means of internal transportation." These are indispensable to restoration of any measure of self-sustenance. The furnishing of these touches our self-interest quite as intimately as it touches our generosity. Judge Rosenman put it very simply:

> The needs of northwest Europe's liberated areas are grave, not only from a humanitarian aspect, but because they involve internal and international political considerations. The future permanent peace of Europe depends largely upon restoration of the economy of these countries,

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including a reasonable standard of living and employment. United States economy, too, will be deeply affected unless northwest Europe again resumes its place in the international exchange of goods and services. Furthermore, a chaotic and hungry Europe is not fertile ground in which stable, democratic, and friendly governments can be reared.

But the moral aspect of the matter is also worth remembering. The people of northwest Europe are not merely unfortunate victims of the war; they have earned our help. In the Netherlands, for example, D-Day was the signal for a transport strike that seriously hampered German troop movements, but at the same time exposed Dutch cities to famine. Americans who understand what the people of the occupied countries have contributed to the Allied cause are unlikely to begrudge them a portion of our bounty.

Looking to the Pacific

WITH the collapse of Nazi resistance in Europe our attention will increasingly be focused on the vast unfinished task in Asia. Although we face great handicaps imposed by vast distances, wretched climate, and a fanatical foe, the campaign in the Pacific from a military point of view is undoubtedly going well. The whole of the Philippines have been liberated, presumably months ahead of schedule. The capture of Rangoon not only assures the swift liberation of Burma with its treasure of rice, oil, and lead but presages the early opening of direct rail and road communications with China. Seizure of Iwo Jima and the larger part of Okinawa gives us important bases well within Japan's inner defenses. The Tarakan landing assures us that one of the world's principal oil fields will be denied Japan and ultimately utilized to supply our forces. Only in China is the military situation generally unfavorable for the United Nations, and even here there are indications of increasing Chinese resistance.

Although the Pacific campaign will continue to be pushed at the accelerated pace that has been evident in the past few months, we cannot expect the end of hostilities in Europe to speed it up immediately. General Eisenhower has vetoed any immediate cut in replacements for the European theater, and while hundreds of thousands of men will ultimately be shifted from Europe to Asia, from four to six months will elapse before substantial forces can be moved, regrouped, and in some instances retrained for the Pacific war. The transfer of planes, tanks, and other equipment may take even longer.

The next phase of the attack will not, however, await the transfer of forces from Europe. As a result of our recent achievements we have effectively cut Japan off from its empire in the south. The reduction of its war industries by air is well under way. Until recently it had been generally assumed that the next stroke would be a landing somewhere on the China coast. This is still possible. But in recent weeks there has been increasing speculation that our next attack may be against Japan itself. There are several reasons for this. The inability of the Chinese to reach an agreement providing for unified military operations of the Kuomintang and Communist forces imperils such a landing and makes it difficult to work out a strategy utilizing the advantages of continental bases. Moreover, the elimination of the Japanese fleet as an effective force and the decimation of the Japanese air force make an attack on Japan far more feasible than could have been anticipated a year ago. An important element in the picture, of course, is the date of Russia's entry into the Pacific war. Early Soviet participation would make an extensive American campaign in China wholly unnecessary. It is doubtful, however, that the Soviets are prepared to undertake the responsibilities of a major campaign in Asia soon after the completion of their tremendous effort in Europe. The granting of air bases to the United States seems more probable.

Popular attention will undoubtedly be focused chiefly on military developments in the Pacific. But in Asia, fully as much as in Europe, what seems at first sight to be primarily a military problem has many political ramifications. We have already noted this in connection with China. The creation of an effective national government in China, representing all the leading political groups, is vital not only for speeding up the war but for the assurance of post-war security in the Pacific. That this is the view of Russia and Britain as well as the United States was confirmed recently in an official statement made by Ambassador Hurley after visiting Washington, London, and Moscow.

Another political problem with obvious bearing on basic military strategy is the ultimate disposition of the islands and colonial areas reconquered from the Japanese. Is each of the United Nations to retain its conquests from Japan, or shall we have joint action in most areas, followed by a sharing of bases in the post-war period? This issue is likely to be settled by the decisions taken at San Francisco in the near future. Of pressing importance also is our understanding of the enemy. Many of the men who know Japan best believe that the big-business groups, the *Zaibatsu*, will make a determined effort to save Japan from the destruction wrought in Germany by eliminating, or seeming to eliminate, the present dominant power of the militarists. In seeming preparation for such a move the last two Japanese Cabinets have contained increasing representation from the *Zaibatsu* groups. It is quite possible that they are prepared to offer peace terms which will seem attractive to the elements in this country who still believe that we can do business with Japan. It must be recognized, however, that the *Zaibatsu* not only have cooperated closely with the militarists in their expansion program but have been the principal barrier to the economic reforms that are necessary to the growth of a genuine democratic movement in Japan. A peace which leaves the *Zaibatsu* in power would merely restore the unhealthy conditions existing in Asia before 1931.

Before we can deal wisely with the basic political problems of the East, we shall probably have to undergo a profound readjustment in our habits of thought. Throughout our history, in peace as well as in war, America has been European-minded. It has taken a war to show how little we know of the basic facts of Far Eastern geography. We are even less aware of the fundamental political and economic forces at work in the Pacific area. If we are to meet the challenge successfully we shall have to transfer our minds and our interests as well as our armed forces from the Western to the Far Eastern front.

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Anti-Russian Undertow

BY I. F. STONE

San Francisco, May 6

IT IS time the American people became aware of what is really going on in San Francisco. On the public plane a charter is being written for a stable peace. But in private too many members of the American delegation conceive this as a conference for the organization of an anti-Soviet bloc under our leadership. And it is no exaggeration to say that not a few of them are reckless enough to think and talk in terms of a third world war—this time against the Soviet Union. That this is the basic pattern of the United Nations Conference is the conviction not of myself alone but of many astute American and foreign correspondents here and of progressive members of the American delegation and its entourage. If this is kept in mind, it will be easier to understand the Argentine and Polish issues, and to be forewarned and forearmed against a rightist turn in American Far Eastern policy and a softer attitude toward the future of the Reich. If this dual aspect of the San Francisco conference is brought forcibly to public attention, it may yet be possible to stem dangerous undercurrents which have the gravest potentialities for the future.

I do not know the full facts about the arrest of sixteen Polish leaders in Poland, but I know enough to advise American progressives to keep their shirts on. Explanations are due in San Francisco as well as from Moscow. The way in which the news of the Polish arrests was given out to the press by Stettinius, and the timing, lead one to suspect that some people may have deliberately sought to torpedo a Polish settlement just as one was in prospect. Friday morning's papers brought the news that Mikolajczyk had been invited back to Moscow. There was renewed hope of a reorganized government in Warsaw satisfactory to the Western powers as well as to the U. S. S. R. Such a reorganization means the political death of the London government, for the only Poles in exile acceptable to the Russians are those who, like Mikolajczyk, have resigned from the London government to accept the Yalta decision on Poland. On Friday the pro-London and anti-Soviet Polish-American Congress asked Mr. Stettinius to press the Russian delegation for information on the fate of the sixteen Polish leaders, about whom there have been questions in the House of Commons.

Friday evening Mr. Molotov told Mr. Stettinius and Mr. Eden that the sixteen had been arrested on charges of diversionary activity against the Red Army. The information was given in confidence but leaked out to Frederick Kuh of the Chicago *Sun* and *PM,* who filed the story that night. I have no doubt that it was permitted to leak out deliberately, and the leak was made the excuse for a press conference Saturday morning at which Mr. Stettinius gave out a statement on the arrests while Mr. Molotov was away on a tour of the Kaiser shipyards with Ambassador Harriman. Mr. Molotov did not know that the story was to be given out and did not know it had been given out until several hours later, when he returned from the shipyard tour. That afternoon the Moscow radio reported that the sixteen had been arrested for installation and maintenance of illegal radio transmitters in the rear of Soviet troops and for acts which had cost the lives of more than a hundred Red Army officers and men. These specific charges were given to Kuh and used by Kuh the night before and were known to Stettinius. One wonders why, in fairness to the Russians, they were not included in the Stettinius press release, which created the impression that the arrests were wholly arbitrary and the charges significantly vague. One wonders about another point in the Stettinius release. It referred to those arrested as "prominent Polish democratic leaders." Abe Penzik, press representative of the Lublin government, said at the press conference that two of the sixteen—he gave their names—were anti-Semites and fascists and asked Mr. Stettinius how he could describe them as "democratic." Mr. Stettinius complained that the Russians were not supplying enough information. Mr. Penzik then asked why, in the absence of sufficient information, Mr. Stettinius described these arrested men as democrats. To this there was no satisfactory reply.

Sources in the American delegation which constantly let anti-Soviet reports leak to the press spread word that the Russians had said more would be known when the guilty were tried. The implication was of condemnation before trial. The Moscow radio said, "All of these persons or some of them, as investigations may warrant, will be committed for trial." The difference is obvious. There is another significant point in the Stettinius press release. Earlier reports from the London Poles said that the sixteen had been invited to negotiate with the Russians and that Marshal Zhukov had sent a plane for them. That implies a safe conduct. But Mr. Stettinius did not say the sixteen men had been invited to negotiate. He said only that these prominent Polish democratic leaders in Poland had met for discussion with Soviet authorities. I advise suspension of judgment until we learn more about the circumstances. In the light of what is known of the London government's attitude and of the operations of Sosnowski's forces in Poland, it would be very unwise to assume, as so many newspapers do, that the arrests must have been arbitrary, unjust, and another example of Soviet high-handedness. This is exactly the position into which the anti-Soviet press is trying to stampede public opinion.

From the standpoint of the London Poles, the sensational character of the disclosures served to block a settlement of the Polish problem. From the standpoint of Mr. Stettinius and his colleagues, it served to destroy the good effect created by Mr. Molotov's strong opposition last Monday to admission of Argentina. That had put our delegation in the wrong and given the Russians moral leadership at the conference. I said in last week's letter that we have here pretty much the same old codgers who were such a flop at Geneva. The Argentina issue was a characteristic Geneva issue with a

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characteristic Geneva solution. It confronted the conference with a choice between a sterile legalistic formula and actualities. The former was preferred, and great-power unity breached. Mr. Stettinius refused, even after Mr. Spaak's statesman-like plea, to consent to the Russian request for postponement. We won a diplomatic victory that was a moral defeat and may be the beginning of a serious rift in the big-power unanimity with which the conference began and which is the essential condition of peace. England and Holland seem to have been our only European supporters in this; even China abstained.

The American consultants were told that Argentina was a special case whose admission was required by the Chapultepec conference. But the principles laid down by the Latin American delegates in the debate—"universality" of the new organization and "non-intervention" in the internal affairs of states applying for membership—lay the basis for the admission of Franco Spain. Just as the Germans whittled away the Versailles settlement piecemeal, so the process has begun of whittling away the anti-fascist character of the United Nations: there will be new legalistic reasons for new compromises with fascism. That is not the way to maintain an entente with the U. S. S. R. or the stable peace an entente would make possible.

Address to the German People

BY THOMAS MANN

This is an actual message to the German people, broadcast to them in the hour of Nazism's catastrophic defeat. It was prepared by Germany's most distinguished scholar in exile and transmitted by the Office of War Information.

Santa Monica, Cal., May 6

SOME have survived, the pitiable remnants of the multitudes of innocent men, women, and children who were sent to German concentration camps. Most of them suffered a horrible death, many at the last moment before the arrival of salvation; their emaciated corpses and charred bones were found along with the ingenious contrivances which served for their extermination. It is a solace to know that these few have been wrested from the power of their tormentors and returned to the laws of humanity. For the German, however, quite different emotions are mingled with this feeling of relief.

The thick-walled torture chamber that Hitlerism had made of Germany is broken open, and our disgrace is bared to the eyes of the world. Foreign commissions who have been shown these incredible scenes report home that the horrors they have seen exceed anything that men could imagine. It is our disgrace, German readers and listeners, for every German—everyone who speaks German, writes German, has lived as a German—is affected by this shameful exposure. It is not a small clique of criminals who are involved; hundreds of thousands of a so-called German élite—men, youths, and brutish women—committed these misdeeds in morbid lust under the influence of the insane doctrines of National Socialism. Call it the dark potentialities of human nature in general that are revealed here, but remember that it was Germans, hundreds of thousands of them, who revealed those potentialities. The world shudders at the sight of Germany. Even the German who escaped in ample time from the realm of National Socialist leadership, who did not like to live in the vicinity of these abodes of abomination, did not like to go about his business in ostensible virtue and pretend to know nothing while the wind carried the stench of charred human flesh to his nostrils—even this German is ashamed in the depths of his soul for the things that were possible in the land of his fathers and his masters.

It comes as a shock to such a German that in the twelve years of the Hitler regime one thing only, Nazi rule, could induce such human depravity in a people certainly not by nature devoid of justice and morality. One of the last commentators on the Goebbels radio, a man named Fritsche, shouted into the microphone that nothing could alter the fact that National Socialism was "the only appropriate form of government for the German people" and that Germany was made for this regime. This he dared to say to people who, full of dire foreboding, had lived for more than a decade under National Socialism and who now, amid the ruins of their country, confronted a catastrophe the like of which neither their own nor any other history has ever witnessed. The "only appropriate form of government" for the German people led them in just a few years into not only the most terrible but also the most disgraceful defeat; so that Germany stands today as the abomination of mankind and the epitome of evil. Justice and truth strangled, falsehood reigning supreme, liberty trampled, character and decency crushed, people drilled from childhood in the blasphemous delusion of racial superiority, in the primacy and right of violence, educated for nothing but covetousness, rape, and looting—that was National Socialism. That is supposed to be "German," the "only form of government appropriate to the German nature." My readers and listeners in Germany, you were unable to rid yourselves of this rule by your own strength. The liberators had to come from abroad. They have occupied your broken country and will have to govern it for years. At least do not regard them as your enemies, as Bishop Galen incites you to do. Do not, like this ill-advised cleric, regard yourselves primarily as Germans, but as men and women returned to humanity, as Germans who after twelve years of Hitler want to be human beings again.

Power is lost, but power is not everything. It is not even the main thing. And German greatness was never a matter of power. It was once German and may be German again to win respect and admiration by the human contribution, by the power of the sovereign spirit.

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World Labor at San Francisco

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Oakland-San Francisco, May 5

SAN FRANCISCO and Oakland are only a half-hour apart by trolley, but the distance might be a thousand miles, judging by the two conferences taking place simultaneously in the two cities. I spent the morning at the City Club Hotel in Oakland, covering the meeting of the Administrative Committee of the World Trade Union Conference, and the afternoon at the San Francisco Opera House, where the plenary sessions of the United Nations Conference are held. The subject at both places was the same, and so was the goal—to organize the post-war world in terms of permanent peace. At the labor conference one could see faces inspired by faith, faces of men and women who knew perfectly well toward what end they were working; at the United Nations Conference a certain skepticism and fatigue were already evident, only two weeks after the inaugural sesssion.

Let us be clear. Out of the San Francisco conference an operating international organization will surely arise, no matter how many difficulties must still be overcome. The mere fact that such an organization is to be set up, even before the cessation of hostilities in Europe, is a tremendous step forward after four years during which the United Nations have been incapable of producing an international political program worthy of the sacrifice of the millions who have perished in this war. I am not among those who, because events have not developed at San Francisco according to their notions of democratic policy, are ready to throw up the sponge and return home to wait for World War III.

At a rally held in the Civic Auditorium in San Francisco on May 2, Philip Murray promised the support of labor for the United Nations Conference even though the new trade-union organization had been refused admission, in even a consultative capacity. Yet these labor men do not fall into the simple error of believing that merely by pronouncing the word "Yalta" all the peace problems will be settled. They are absolutely in favor of the coalition, not an artificial coalition but one so vital and alert that it can even permit one of the great powers to oppose the admission of Argentina, as Russia did, without suffering irreparable damage. Had labor had a voice at San Francisco as the Administrative Committee of the trade-union organization requested, it would not have been so easy to smuggle fascist Argentina into the conference, giving it the opportunity of heading an eventual anti-Russian Latin American bloc—reactionary and opposed to a peace based on social justice and economic democracy. If it has come to seem almost impertinent to speak of fascism at the United Nations Conference, in the World Trade Union Conference fascism is constantly present as the enemy which the war has not conquered and which must still be destroyed. "Military victory," said Lombardo Toledano, speaking for the Confederación de Obreros de la America Latina at the meeting in the Civic Auditorium, "does not mean victory over fascism. Hitler may be dead, but he has left a legacy—fascism. Fascism will not die until the economic and political forces which helped it grow are destroyed. It will not die as long as one fascist branch survives. While fascist Spain exists, we cannot say that we have won the war."

In Oakland the various disguises which will be assumed by fascism in the months and years to come have been carefully studied. It is the unanimous belief of the leaders drafting the constitution of the new international labor federation that fascism will change its name and its methods; in some countries it will try to revive the isolationist spirit, in others it will sabotage any attempt at a planned economy, and everywhere it will do its best to revive the political appeasement of fascism which led to Munich and the present war. Labor leaders have not overlooked the intelligent last-minute move of the Nazis to replace Ribbentrop by Count Schwerin von Krossig, representative of a Germany, conservative but not exactly Nazi, with which it might be possible for British-American reaction to come to an understanding should Russia prove too unbearable. Organized labor, as I have seen it at work in Oakland, knows that the only way to meet the next fascist political offensive is by anticipating its moves and striking hard before it regains its strength.

In order to be in condition to carry on this fight, a strong international trade-union movement is essential. At the London conference in February a general policy was laid down for the war and the post-war era. Two bodies were intrusted with carrying out the London resolution—a Committee of Forty-five, on which all trade-union organizations participating in the conference were represented, and an Administrative Committee of thirteen members selected from the forty-five. These two bodies would act as parliament and cabinet during the transitional period. The Administrative Committee, meeting at Oakland, after ten days of work has drawn up the international charter and has approved the text of the agenda for the conference to be opened on September 25 in Paris. In September this constitution will be submitted for discussion, and once it is approved, the new organization will be definitely established.

The debates in Oakland were laborious, but in the end unanimous agreements were reached. The most controversial issue with which the committee had to deal was how to assure equality and internal democracy in the organizational set-up. This has been achieved through the adoption of two principles. The first is the autonomy of the national federations. It is not an autonomy to be used negatively, but one which will permit national federations to comply with the agreements of the world federation in the light of conditions in their respective countries. The other principle is proportional representation of the affiliated organizations in

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the congress of unions as well as in the Administrative Committee. The more members a constituent organization has the more delegates it can send, but there will be this limitation: in the administrative body of the organization the British Trades Union Congress will have two votes; the French organization (the C. G. T.), two also; the C. I. O., two; the Latin American Confederation of Workers (C. T. A. L.), two; and the Soviet trade unions, three. If the basis of representation were purely numerical and not functional, the Russian unions, with 27,000,000 members, would have almost half the votes in the Administrative Committee. As it is, they have only one more vote than the French C. G. T., which according to the capable and energetic Louis Saillant, head of the Council of National Resistance in France, has approximately 4,680,000 members.

Altogether the new world trade-union organization comprises some 60,000,000 workers. This is not a final figure. The labor leaders meeting in Oakland hope to bring into the federation other national organizations, including the A. F. of L., to whose membership a strong appeal was made by Philip Murray in his speech at the Civic Auditorium. No matter what the officials of that organization desire, its members are certain to respond to repeated invitations from the new international, especially since one of its characteristics is its determination to go on asking for what it wants. I discussed with some of the members of the Administrative Committee the rejection by the United Nations Conference of its request for recognition in a consultative capacity. They said, "We shall try again and again—here in San Francisco until the show is over, at the September conference in Paris, after that on every possible occasion. We are convinced that whatever may be the post-war program drawn up by the United Nations, if the new security plans do not have the support of organized labor they will fail." These men know what they want. They will not give up the fight. At the London conference certain maneuvers were used in an effort to exclude the Spanish trade unions; visas and transportation were refused the Spanish delegate coming from Mexico. Nevertheless, the delegate arrived on time because the conference insisted on his presence, and the U. G. T., which for three years during the Spanish war rendered such courageous service to the cause of democracy, now has a representative in the Committee of Forty-five.

Not only is the attitude of the new international trade-union organization entirely different from that assumed by labor during the period between the two world wars; its approach to post-war problems is more dextrous and shows more fighting spirit. The leaders meeting in Oakland expect the new international not merely to tackle problems of wages and hours, with which it would naturally deal, but to

THE WHOLE GERMAN PEOPLE SHOULD BE WIPED OUT FOR THIS!
DON'T FORGET SOME OF US ARE GERMANS, FRIEND
CONCENTRATION CAMP HORRORS

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use its influence to guide the international conscience of the peoples of the world. The attention they received from the British press during the London meetings showed that they were on the right track in preparing themselves for this great role. Two newspapers, traditionally conservative but with political perception—the London *Times* and the *Financial News*—gave equal importance and space to the two conferences then taking place, the Crimean conference and the trade-union conference. A *Times* editorial made the acute observation that the labor meeting was "at least as important because governments come and go and can be replaced by others representing opposite principles, while the people remain." The new international intends to be political. It wants labor to play a major political role.

The position of the new organization is strengthened as a consequence of recent developments in Europe. That Europe is going to the left, as I have steadily maintained it would, is even more obvious since the elections in France and the liberation of northern Italy. Though at the moment of writing full information is still lacking, it is unquestionable, as M. Saillant told the Oakland meeting, that the French people have "voted for social democracy and for what labor demands." The position of labor is further reinforced by the economic consequences of the war. From that point of view alone it is absurd that the United Nations Conference has refused to admit the delegates assembled in Oakland in even an advisory capacity. The statement addressed to the four chairmen and signed by Sidney Hillman, Sir Walter Citrine, Louis Saillant, and M. Tarasov, stressed this point. It said, "We ask for representation in the United Nations Conference for a further and compelling reason. Organized labor will be charged with many serious and important tasks and will be called upon to assume grave responsibilities in the work of the international security organization. Its assistance will be essential in perfecting international cooperation against the economic causes of war by assuring rising living standards, greater security, and a more abundant life for all the peoples." The World Trade Union Conference, following one of the decisions taken in London, is already working out a plan of economic security and will be far better able to provide solutions than all the economic experts the United Nations organization may appoint if the experts work as they did at Geneva without direct contact with the masses, their needs, and their sufferings. As I talked to the men who framed that statement I recalled the days when the doors of the League were closed on labor, to be opened once a year when a trade-union delegation to Geneva was formerly received and then sent back home to await the next international crisis and accept its consequences. Labor's intimate collaboration with the world security organization would serve that organization as much as it would serve labor. What this assembly sorely needs is a spark of fire and determination. Merely to listen to the delegate of New Zealand pledge his effort to the fight for a decent peace for the common man raised the spirits of the assembly. A new faith is required, but more urgently still new men are needed to restore confidence in the capacity of the nations to accomplish the tasks that lie ahead. Labor would provide this confidence if it should enter the new league in the mood that the meetings at Oakland have revealed.

Berlin: a Necrology

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

THE grave of my parents is in Weissensee, the grave of my wife is in Halensee. I was born in the neighborhood of the Alexanderplatz. I was in love for the first time in Monbijou. I studied medicine in the Charité. I headed a hospital in the Wedding district. My child was born in Joachimsthalerstrasse. I lived at Steinplatz when I left Berlin early in 1936. Now I live in New York. Now I look at the maps of burning Berlin in American newspapers. Now I am an American citizen. I try to remember. The graves will be destroyed, the parks aflame, the houses fallen to dust and ashes. Friends will be killed. Seldom has the past of living beings been so cruelly amputated, so helplessly degraded.

When I left Germany I knew that it was forever. In Aachen, on the border, I flashed the ten-mark note I was allowed to take along. I did not look back. It was a journey out of a realm of shadow. All my love and tenderness and yearning for my lost homeland I took with me into the beckoning freedom and space of a new world. The sky hung pale and leaden over Germany, and the smokestacks of the factories vanished into the mist. There was still a Europe then. Only the Cassandra-like gaze of the émigrés saw its splendid, self-assured cities brought down in blood and ashes. And those among us who found words to describe the horror of which we were the eyewitnesses or victims were pitied like madmen or suspected like traitors.

When I left, Hitler had been in power for almost three years. There were the concentration camps—Oranienburg, Dachau, Buchenwald—the torture chambers of the Gestapo, the gnawing cancer of terror with all its mortal symptoms. Of course, everybody in Germany knew about it. When we talked about it, we closed the window, cut off the telephone, and still—one's own friend might be a henchman, an agent, an informer. There was no laughter; the best, the most sincere, the most dearly beloved faces changed into horrifying masks under the impact of fear and suspicion.

We tried to tell you over here. You would not believe. It is hard to imagine misery before it appears on one's own doorstep. The death of strangers has no reality. But cancer is incurable if not cut out at its first onset. You believed us too late. But we too were too late. We too did not understand until the brutal fist hit us squarely.

We have been longing, for twelve feverish years, for these holy days of victory. Now that they are here, I am overcome by an almost unbearable sadness.

It is not the pyre of my ghostlike past that affects me. It is rather that so much of my earlier life must have been lie and deceit. I love America more with every sunrise. But I cannot forget the first words I learned, the first landscape I saw, the first kindness, the first pain, the first enthusiasm. They were German, untranslatable, incomparable; they remain forever a part of my existence. And that this part of me is now inseparably mixed with dirt, with stench, with unspeakable nausea, this is a sickening pain.

I could say to myself: I am a Jew, I was never a German. But that would be untrue. All my happy memories, my first

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literary adventures, my musical impressions, my early friendships were German, European-German, rooted in a humane artistic and scientific spirit that seemed sound and beautiful —and that ended in disaster. During all these years of faithful transition from a European into an American I have searched myself again and again to find out what was wrong with my life, my time, my former country. It is easy to form an opinion and to cling to some dogma. Too easy. If one could destroy all Germans, the pest which broke out in their organism would still exist and be in danger of spreading. Fascism is a global disease, a universal shame, fermenting in the soil of this century, breaking out to mutilate the brains and limbs of mankind everywhere. Victory will not be enough to eliminate this perverted relationship among men, continents, races. What are we to do to make the rest of our life span immune to this epidemic which has so disfigured us?

Berlin has often been called an ugly city. It was not ugly to me. It was—to European minds—a young and daring city; its climate was crisp and stimulating; it was a city in which writers could work; it was meant for new thoughts and new ideas as no other city in Europe. It was surrounded by pine woods and tender, dreamy lakes, and its summer nights were enchanting. Its people seemed no different from other people.

What happened in Berlin, what happened in Germany? What must be done that such ignominious decay of a country and its people can never and nowhere be repeated?

Sooner or later, we must find the answer. If we do, the death of this city will not have been in vain.

Fascism Without Mussolini—I

BY MARIO ROSSI

If war is a continuation of politics by different means, the reverse is equally true. Italy sets an example and a precedent. Italy was not only the first nation to be freed by the effort of the Western Allies but the test of whether or not we meant what we said. To study Allied policy in Italy is to study Allied policy in general. The defeat of Germany and the creation of the new international organization at San Francisco will not lead to peace unless we avoid a repetition of the blunders committed in Italy. For this reason The Nation *intends to publish a series of articles on Italy, of which Mr. Rossi's is the first.*

WHEN the Allies landed in Sicily in July, 1943, the traditional anti-German sentiments of the Italian people had been revived by the passage of German troops through the country en route to Sicily. The war on the side of the Germans was extremely unpopular. Anti-Fascism was spreading everywhere. The opposition was ready to act. From all sides one word was heard: Enough! Enough of Mussolini, enough of Fascism, enough of war!

Mussolini was perfectly aware of the popular mood. Since the end of 1942 he had realized what a mistake he had made in entering the war against the Allies. Prominent Fascists in his own entourage were maneuvering against him, knowing that the end of the war meant the end of Mussolini. The Gestapo heard of these maneuvers, and the Duce was summoned to Salzburg in February, 1943. Upon his return Foreign Secretary Count Ciano, Minister of Justice Dino Grandi, and Minister of National Education Giuseppe Bottai were eliminated from the government. Ciano became ambassador at the Holy See, Grandi president of the Chamber of Fasces and Corporations, and Bottai editor of a newspaper. The three had frequent conversations with known anti-Fascists, particularly with former Premier Orlando, and became the center of all intrigues in the high Fascist hierarchy.

For the House of Savoy also Mussolini was now a liability and an embarrassment. After March, 1943, when the strikes of 50,000 workers at Milan and Turin made it clear what the popular mood was, the King received hundreds of persons who urged him to act to take Italy out of the war. His answer was, "I am a constitutional king and cannot form a new government without the vote of Parliament." But the Parliament had been abolished by Mussolini, and so the King countenanced the farce of using the Grand Council of Fascism for this purpose. Churchill, in his speech of December 23, 1940, had said that "one man, against the crown and royal family of Italy, against the Pope and all the authority of the Vatican and the Roman Catholic church," was responsible for the war. Those Fascists, therefore, who took the King's side, felt secure, and Mussolini lost most of his followers.

Badoglio stated later that when Mussolini met Hitler at Feltre on July 19, 1943, his intention was to inform Hitler that he was about to ask the Allies for an armistice. But Hitler did not let him speak. Upon his return to Rome Mussolini told the King that he was going to break with Hitler before September 15. The moment had come for the monarchy and the dissident Fascists to act; they must get rid of Mussolini before he engineered the break with Germany. These Fascists met secretly and decided to ask Mussolini for his view of the situation. Mussolini agreed to call a meeting of the Grand Council of Fascists two days later. Grandi, Bottai, and Ciano had meanwhile been joined by Federzoni, Rossoni, Bastianini, Bignardi, and Albini, all members of the Grand Council—Albini was a valuable addition in his capacity of Under Secretary of the Interior and Chief of Police. As their leader they chose Dino Grandi, who prepared a memorandum in which the Grand Council of Fascism would ask Mussolini's government to invite the King to resume his constitutional prerogatives. After twenty years of dictatorship some of the plotters had forgotten what these prerogatives were. To them Dino Grandi explained that according to Article 5 of the constitution, executive power belongs only to the king: he commands all armed forces, declares war,

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and ratifies peace treaties and treaties of alliance and commerce.

On July 24, Palermo, the capital of Sicily, was occupied by the Allies. The meeting of the Grand Council was scheduled for five o'clock. The most important *gerarchi* were present in black shirts. The Secretary of the Fascist Party ordered the salute to the Duce. Then Mussolini opened the session with an exposition of the military situation. His speech was long and apologetic. "The problem," he concluded, "is war or peace? Unconditional surrender or fight to the last? Moreover, there is the question of fidelity to the pacts." The members of the Council were confused. After a general discussion Grandi presented the following resolution:

> The Grand Council of Fascism, meeting in this decisive hour, turns, first of all, its thoughts to the heroic fighters of the Italian armed forces, which are renewing, side by side with the brave people of Sicily now reflecting the faith of all the Italian people, the noble traditions of bravery and self-sacrifice of our glorious soldiers. Having examined the internal and international situation and the political and military conduct of the war, the Grand Council of Fascism *proclaims* the sacred duty of all Italians to defend at all cost the unity, the independence, and the liberty of the fatherland, the results of the sacrifices and of the efforts of four generations from the Risorgimento to today; *affirms* the necessity of the moral and material unity of all Italians in this decisive hour for the destiny of our nation; *declares* that to this end it is necessary to restore immediately all the functions of the state, by giving to the crown, the Grand Council, the government, the Parliament, the corporations, the tasks and the responsibilities which are established by our laws and by the constitution; *invites* the government to beg His Majesty the King, to whom the heart of all the nation is turned with fidelity and faith, that for the honor and the good of the country he deign to assume, with the effective command of all the armed forces, according to Article 5 of the statute of the kingdom, that supreme initiative of decision given to him by our institutions, which have always been, in all our national history, the glorious heritage of our august dynasty of Savoy.

The intent of this declaration is clear. Victor Emmanuel wished to act as a constitutional king in dismissing Mussolini, but he could hardly do so after having consented to put aside the constitution and give to Mussolini the prerogatives of the crown. Thus the supreme organ of Fascism had to admit, not only that Fascism had been a complete failure, but also that the King had acted unconstitutionally for the past twenty years. Obviously also, from a purely legal point of view, the supreme organ of Fascism, being itself the product of an illegal act, could not restore the prerogatives of the monarchy, but this fact was ignored.

The resolution bore eighteen signatures. Grandi then made a speech accusing Mussolini of incompetence and of having exploited Fascism to his personal ends. Ciano reminded his father-in-law that it was Germany, not Italy, which had constantly betrayed the spirit and the letter of the alliance. One by one all the dissident members of the council attacked Mussolini for his way of conducting the war. Mussolini saw clearly that the majority was against him and tried to adjourn the meeting. The council was against the proposal and consented only to a recess for dinner. After dinner Grandi asked for and obtained a vote on his resolution. The Secretary of the Fascist Party called the names. There were nineteen votes for the resolution, seven against, and one abstention. Thus the meeting ended. The Secretary again ordered the salute to the Duce. Mussolini tried to smile and said: "I will take the resolution to the King and we will laugh together about it."

Grandi, clearly enough, thought that the resolution was an invitation to the King to get rid of Mussolini and name him, Grandi, Prime Minister. But the King had different plans.

ARREST OF MUSSOLINI

Toward midday on July 25 General Angelo Cerica, newly named chief of the Carabinieri, was summoned to the Palazzo Vidoni, where he was received by the chief of the General Staff, General Ambrosio. Present also was Duke Pietro Acquarone, Minister of the Royal House. "General," said Ambrosio to Cerica, "we have called you to a task that is extremely delicate and of great responsibility. This is it. You will choose the most faithful of your officers, as many as you wish, and you will send them this afternoon, around three, to the Villa Savoia [the King's residence]. Your men will wait there for Mussolini, and after his conference with the sovereign they will arrest him. You must be careful not to attract attention. Guard him well. Do not let him communicate with anybody. Above all, don't let him escape. Orders of the King!" General Cerico was bewildered. Then Acquarone told him about the vote of the Grand Council of Fascism and that it was necessary to arrest Mussolini in order to avoid civil war.

General Cerica chose three of his most trusted men—Colonel Frignani, Captain Anversa, and Captain Vigneri—three non-commissioned officers, and three police agents. They arrived at the Villa Savoia soon after three in an ambulance which was followed by a closed truck containing fifty Carabinieri armed with submachine-guns. Mussolini arrived at 4:35 with his private secretary, De Cesare. The King received him at once. Mussolini reiterated his intention to break with Germany before September 15. Then he spoke briefly about the meeting of the previous night, maintaining that the Grand Council had only consultative powers and that the government was not bound by its decisions. The King cut him short. "The Grand Council," he said, "is a recognized organ of the state having very precise powers. You always insisted on this point and now you cannot forget it." Mussolini replied that in his opinion the motion was void, but the King maintained his point.

"Does this mean that I have to go?" asked Mussolini.

"That is right; you will have to go," the King replied. "And I may add that I have decided to name Marshal Badoglio as your successor. I expect you to put yourself at his disposal."

Whereupon Mussolini left the room. In the garden he was approached by Captain Vigneri, who led him to the waiting ambulance. That evening Mussolini sent Badoglio a letter thanking him for saving his life and asking him to protect his family. Subsequently Mussolini was moved from one barracks of the Carabinieri to another to protect him, as Badoglio explained later, from popular fury.

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BADOGLIO VS. THE PEOPLE

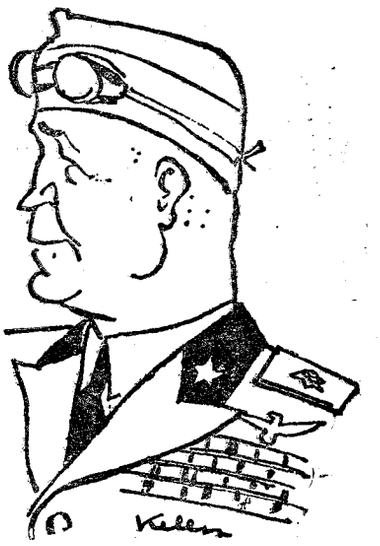
The removal of Mussolini caused tremendous joy among the Italian people, but this joy was short-lived.

Badoglio was given full power to form a new Cabinet. The war, he said, would go on, on the side of Germany. "There has been no revolution and no coup d'état," explained Radio Rome.

As Premier, Badoglio had two courses open to him: he could use the army and the monarchy to save the Italian people; or he could use the army and the Italian people to save the monarchy. If he had chosen the first, it might have been necessary for him to sacrifice the monarchy, which was completely compromised by its relations with Fascism, in the name of national unity. There is evidence that the anti-Fascists would have been willing to collaborate in a government if the question of the monarchy were left in suspension. It would have been necessary to send troops at once to the Brenner Pass and to inform Germany that Italy could not continue a war which had been imposed by Mussolini's regime on an unprepared country against the will of the people. Hitler, to be sure, would have attacked at the Brenner, but at that time the army was still faithful to its officers and could have fought back. All Italians, except a minority of Fascists, would have supported the army. The war would have become a popular one.

Badoglio chose without hesitation to use the army, not against the Germans, but against the Italian people in order to save the monarchy. Perhaps in his *ancien-régime* mentality he really believed in the "indivisible good of king and country" and thought that to save the King meant to save the country. There had been hostility between Badoglio and Mussolini, but it was more a clash of personalities than of ideologies. Although it is true that Badoglio was opposed to the March on Rome, he faithfully served Mussolini as soon as he realized that Fascism was in power to stay. As early as April 10, 1925, Badoglio took the occasion of Mussolini's nomination as Minister of War to send him his "fervid salute as general of the army and as soldier of our glorious and respected country." Mussolini was pleased with this act of submission and named Badoglio chief of the General Staff. After that, Badoglio gave innumerable demonstrations of his devotion. After Zaniboni's attempt on Mussolini's life Badoglio sent the Duce a message saying that "God protected Your Excellency and Italy. . . . In the name of the King we are absolutely faithful and devoted to you." In 1928, when Badoglio was appointed governor of Libya, he wrote to Mussolini asking for a title of nobility transmissible to his descendants, "well knowing the generosity of Your Excellency in rewarding his faithful collaborators." "As I told you personally," he concluded, "Your Excellency can count now as ever on my most complete and absolute devotion." So he became Marquis of Sabotino. After the Ethiopian war he asked Mussolini for a second title and an annuity. He got his money and was made Duke of Addis Ababa.

As soon as Mussolini was ousted, Badoglio conferred with the German ambassador in Rome, Hans-George Viktor von Mackensen. He requested forty German divisions in order to prevent the Allies from invading Italy. Should this request not be granted, he said, Italy would sue for peace. Mackensen telephoned Berlin, and Berlin agreed to Badoglio's request. The war against the Allies continued.



Marshal Badoglio

But meanwhile something wonderful had happened. The anti-Fascist underground parties came to the surface and expressed their will in the following united proclamation issued in Milan on July 26:

> Italians! The will of the people and the deep aspiration of our gallant army are satisfied: Mussolini has been driven from power. The anti-Fascist parties, which for twenty years have fought the Fascist dictatorship, in blood and sorrow, in prison and in exile, proclaim their common will to act in full solidarity for the realization of the following aims: (1) the total liquidation of Fascism and of all its instruments of oppression; (2) an armistice for the conclusion of an honorable peace; (3) the restoration of all civil and political liberties, above all the freedom of the press; (4) the immediate liberation of all political prisoners; (5) the reestablishment of an exemplary justice, without summary procedure, but inexorable with regard to all those responsible; (6) the abolition of the racial laws; (7) the constitution of a government formed by the representatives of all parties which express the national will.
>
> The anti-Fascist parties invite the Italians not to confine themselves to manifestations of rejoicing but, aware of the gravity of the hour, to organize themselves so as to bring to bear their inflexible will that the new situation shall not be exploited by anyone for reactionary ends or for the salvaging of interests which have upheld Fascism and have been upheld by Fascism.
>
> The anti-Fascist parties have therefore decided that the whole of the working masses—workers, clerks, artisans, professional men, students, and soldiers—should consider themselves to be in a permanent state of alert and watch so as to affirm by action their unbreakable will to peace and freedom.
>
> GROUP OF LIBERAL RECONSTRUCTION
> PARTY OF ACTION
> CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY
> SOCIALIST PARTY
> MOVEMENT OF PROLETARIAN UNITY FOR THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC
> COMMUNIST PARTY

The institutional question, it may be noted, was not raised: the anti-Fascist parties simply wanted to make sure that the situation was not exploited to salvage the monarchy. But this was exactly Badoglio's aim!

On July 26 Badoglio formed a "technical" government of career functionaries, the majority of whom had served under Mussolini but remained faithful to the King. On the same day he placed Italy under martial law, proclaiming that "this is not the moment to indulge in demonstrations because they

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will not be tolerated. . . . Assemblies are prohibited, and the public authorities have orders to disperse all gatherings. The control of public order has now come under the military authorities." In its first fortnight of power the new government took a number of measures to strengthen the crown: the Fascist militia was incorporated into the regular army; the formation of political parties and the wearing of political badges were banned for the duration of the war; listening to the Allied radio was forbidden. On August 23 Radio Rome announced that the Ministry of Culture had taken over the complete control of the Italian press and would confiscate papers which "opposed the interest of the nation" —that is, of the monarchy.

The Badoglio Cabinet also took measures to purge Italy of Fascism, but the military dictatorship deprived such measures of all meaning. Fascist laws were abolished, but military laws made absolute. It was announced that all political prisoners would be released, but many of them were still in prison or concentration camps on September 8. The Fascist Party was dissolved, but Fascism, for most Italians, meant dictatorship and war on the side of the Germans—and both continued. The Fascist special tribunal for the defense of the state was abolished, but military courts took over. Such measures could not fool the Italian people.

Demonstrations for peace broke out all through northern Italy. The extent of the opposition is indicated by the retaliatory measures of the government. The Milan military court was "overwhelmed with work." During the first week of August the military courts sentenced men to as much as twelve years' imprisonment for distributing posters and pamphlets, calling on workers to strike, cheering the Allies in public, spreading rumors, etc. The Minister of the Interior, Umberto Ricci, sent the following telegram to all prefects (regional officials appointed by the government): ". . . We must defy anti-national [that is, anti-monarchist] forces and suppress any demonstrations with maximum firmness. We must restore the power of the law and the moral code in all administrations. We must keep a close watch on disruptive elements and attune the people to a new Italian life of devotion to King and country."

While Badoglio was busy waging his war against the Italian people, the Germans were pouring men down through the Brenner Pass. On August 6 Ribbentrop went to Italy on Badoglio's invitation to discuss the situation. In Tarvisio he met the Foreign Minister, Raffaele Guariglia. Next day General Wilhelm Keitel, German chief of staff, and General Vittorio Ambrosio, Italian chief of staff, joined the party. The conference was ended on August 9 with Badoglio agreeing to continue the war.

In mid-August Badoglio's emissaries conferred with the Allies in Madrid. At the same time a series of broadcasts by Badoglio's official radio indicated the terms on which the Marshal would collaborate with the Allies. These included the neutralization of Italy and its control by military experts acceptable to both the Allies and the Germans; Italy's guaranty that all German troops would be withdrawn immediately and the Italian forces demobilized; cession of Sicily to the Allies for the duration of the war; the Italian mainland not to be used for any military operations by either side.

For Badoglio the problem was to save the structure of the state so that the monarchy would not lose its strength. It was necessary for him both to prevent a revolution and to take Italy out of the war without turning it into a battlefield. The Allies, also, had two objectives. One was to obtain Italy's "unconditional surrender"; the other was to prevent a revolution.

THE KING AND THE ALLIES

The day after Mussolini's fall the OWI asserted that "the essential nature of the Fascist regime in Italy had not changed" and that war would go on against the "moronic little king" and Badoglio, "the high-ranking Fascist." In Algiers, however, General Eisenhower "commended the House of Savoy." And a few days later, in Washington, President Roosevelt scolded the OWI radio speakers who "had imperiled the most difficult of international negotiations."

Then it was the turn of Mr. Churchill to declare before the House of Commons that he did not wish to "break down the whole structure and expression of the Italian state" or "to reduce Italian life to a condition of chaos and anarchy and find ourselves without any authority with which to deal." Unconditional surrender, he said, should be brought about "wholesale" and not "piecemeal." "I certainly don't wish to tread a path that might lead to execution squads and concentration camps, and, above all, to have to carry on our shoulders a lot of people who ought to be made to carry themselves." Those words meant that Mr. Churchill was unwilling to weaken the position of the King and Badoglio since he hoped they might surrender the country "wholesale" and thus avoid "chaos and anarchy." To induce the Italians to force the King to surrender, Churchill warned them that Italy "would be seared and scarred and blackened from one end to the other." "We should let the Italians, to use a homely phrase, stew in their own juice for a bit and hot up the fire to accelerate the process until we obtain from the government, or whoever possesses the authority, all the indispensable requirements" for carrying on the war against Germany.

The following day, July 28, 1943, to scare Victor Emmanuel and Badoglio a little more, President Roosevelt declared that "we will have no truck with Fascism in any way, shape, or manner. We will permit no vestige of Fascism to remain." Later President Roosevelt must have thought he had scared the King and Badoglio too much, for on July 30 he announced that he was willing to have peace dealings with any element "that was not out-and-out Fascist and that could prevent the country from plunging into anarchy."

Naturally, in order to back up the insistence of Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt on the danger of anarchy, some cases of anarchy had to be produced. On August 1 the New York *Times* cited "many reports of disorders in Italy." "It appears that the spirit behind these clashes is a demand for peace. If that were all, it would be logical to suppose the disorders would end with Italy out of the war." But "it is likely that domestic political axes are being ground and that anti-Fascist elements are seeking their own advantages. There are evidences that Communists are heavily involved in many of the disorders."

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Allied propaganda told the Italians further that the United Nations sympathized fully with their desire for liberty, but that liberty could not be realized without peace, and therefore their first duty was to induce the King to surrender. British propaganda, particularly, was willing to promise the Italians anything to make them force the King to act. The first sign of Britain's real intentions came in the second week of August when, just as the Italian masses were most active in their peace demonstrations, Allied planes launched terror raids against the northern cities. The Italian people realized then that the war was against them and not against Fascism. The Allies never had the moral courage to tell the Italians the plain truth—namely, that peace was impossible for Italy, and that they could offer it, in place of Mussolini's war against the Allies, only the chance to fight for liberation from the Germans.

In their desire to prevent any change in the internal situation, the Allies and Badoglio could count on the support of the Vatican. The position of the church after Mussolini's fall was made clear by the Vatican radio and the pastoral letters of the bishops bolstering the efforts of the Badoglio government to control radical tendencies. At the same time the Vatican supported a separate peace for Italy.

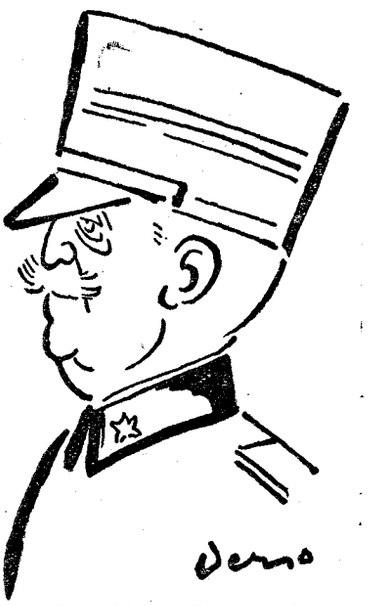
TREASON IN ROME

As I said above, by mid-August Italian emissaries were in Madrid and in contact with the British ambassador. It is now well known that the Italians were General Castellano, a trusted friend of General Ambrosio, and his adviser and interpreter, Franco Montanari, former Italian consul general in Honolulu. Informed of their arrival, the governments of London and Washington agreed to send their representatives to Lisbon. On August 19 Major General Walter B. Smith and Brigadier General K. W. Strong, representing General Eisenhower, met Castellano in Lisbon in the house of the British ambassador, Sir Ronald Campbell.

General Smith opened the discussion by saying, "I know you have come to ask for armistice terms. Here they are." And he read the terms one by one: unconditional surrender, full use of all Italian bases to be granted, surrender of the fleet and air force, recall to Italy of all Italian divisions abroad, postponement to a later day of all political and economic agreements. "These terms are not to be discussed," said General Smith; "they must be accepted without conditions." "The aim of my trip was not exactly to ask for an armistice," General Castellano replied, "but to see how Italy could cooperate with the Allies." "We are not willing to discuss any terms short of unconditional surrender," retorted General Smith. "You have heard the conditions. They cannot be changed. You must either accept them or refuse them." Castellano said he understood, and the conversation turned to military matters. We do not know the details of this part of the conversation. According to Clark Lee of the I. N. S., Castellano asked that Allied troops be parachuted near Rome at the moment of the landing in Italy; he further assured the Allies that the Italian forces would aid them and that the Germans were not strong in the region of Rome.

Meanwhile, Rome was worried lest Castellano's mission should fail and sent to Lisbon General Zanussi, of the staff of General Roatta, chief of staff of the Italian army. As credentials Zanussi brought with him the British General Cartl de Wiart, who was a prisoner in Italy. Because Roatta was known as a Fascist and pro-Nazi, the British became suspicious. Fearing a German trick, they sent De Wiart to England at once and General Zanussi to Algiers.

On August 27, at three o'clock, Allied Headquarters received word that Badoglio accepted the armistice terms. On August 31 General Castellano and Montanari left Rome by plane and landed in Sicily. Castellano now stressed the fact that Italy's condition was very much changed since the conversations in Lisbon. The country was virtually occupied by the Germans, and the government was no longer free. He asked therefore for certain guaranties. General Smith gave Italy until September 2 to make up its mind. On September 2, at 7:30 P.M., Castellano, who had returned to Rome, cabled the Allied Command that he would fly to Sicily the next day. On September 3 he met the Allied commanders, and it was decided that Badoglio in Rome and Eisenhower in Algiers should simultaneously announce the signing of the armistice. It was five o'clock when Castellano put his signature to the document. The same day Allied troops landed in Calabria.



King Victor Emmanuel

The proposal to land air-borne troops in the area of Rome was accepted by the Allies. It was furthermore decided that two Allied officers should go to Rome to get first-hand information. General Taylor and Colonel Gardiner volunteered and left on the night of September 6 on an American PT boat. At Ustica they were transferred to the Italian corvette Ibis, which landed them at Gaeta. They reached Rome in an ambulance by the Appian Way. It was understood that in case of capture by the Germans, the two Allied officers would appear as prisoners of war in order not to be shot as spies. The ambulance entered Rome at 10:30 P.M. of September 7. The Americans went first to see General Carboni, military commander of the Rome area, who begged them to call off the air-borne invasion and to postpone the announcement of the armistice. He pointed out that there was a very strong German garrison in the Tiber valley. Taylor and Gardiner then insisted on seeing Marshal Badoglio. Badoglio confirmed what Carboni had said, and suggested that the Allied officers return to their headquarters with his decision to postpone the announcement of the armistice. The officers refused but sent a code message saying, "Do not attack with air-borne troops. The operation is canceled." A few hours later they received the order to return.

After the departure of General Taylor and Colonel Gardiner, the morning of September 8 passed in Rome as if noth-

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ing had happened. But around five in the afternoon, while Badoglio was working at his desk, General Ambrosio entered the room waving a piece of paper. "Marshal," he shouted, "we are ruined." And he gave him a telegram from Eisenhower in which the Allied commander informed Badoglio that he had decided to announce the armistice over the radio at 6:30 P.M. He invited the Marshal to speak immediately afterward. Badoglio thereupon prepared a reply to Eisenhower, asking him not to take any action before the arrival of General Rossi, who was on his way to Allied headquarters with General Taylor. It was too late. The Allied fleet was already before Salerno.

Shortly afterward the King met his most trusted men at the royal palace. While the Chief of Staff, Ambrosio, was explaining the new situation to the King, an officer announced that Eisenhower was speaking over the radio. After a final consultation with Badoglio and Ambrosio, Victor Emmanuel decided to accept the *fait accompli*. At 7:05 P.M. Badoglio announced over the radio that the Italian government, in view of the superior forces of the Allies, had been compelled to ask for an armistice. The request having been accepted, the Italian army would cease all hostilities against the Allies, but would reply to eventual attacks from any other quarter. Ignoring the Italian people's clearly expressed ideological reasons for refusing to fight for Germany, Badoglio adduced only the fact that the Allies were too strong.

At first it looked as if the Germans would retreat to the north, but the next day it became clear that they were preparing to seize Rome. Flight from the capital was decided on. The King, the Queen, the Crown Prince, Badoglio, and the personnel of the court left first; then Ambrosio, Roatta, Navy Minister De Courten, and Air Minister Sandalli. At the last minute Roatta gave a few written instructions to the troops left to defend Rome. Early on the following morning the fugitives boarded a navy corvette at Pescara on the Adriatic coast. In the meantime the commanders of the army telephoned in vain to the various ministers to ask for instructions.

The outer defenses of Rome were held by the Motorized Army Corps under the command of General Carboni, who took his orders directly from the General Staff. South of the city was an army corps under General Barbieri, who took his order from the command of the Fifth Army. The two commands were in continuous conflict over authority. Furthermore, many units were considered untrustworthy because they contained a great number of Fascist militiamen, incorporated into the army by Badoglio. The troops were poorly equipped and trained and wrongly placed. It was clear that the High Command had never thought seriously of defending Rome, but wished only to prevent a coup de main before the flight of the King. Achille Corona, whose analysis of the fall of Rome in *Avanti* I have extensively quoted, says that the dispositions made were more like the work of a chief of police than of military strategists.

Roatta had ordered the Motorized Army Corps to abandon Rome in order to avoid damage to the city, and to retreat toward the Adriatic coast. This meant that the corps must enter a mountainous zone where the movement of motorized units was practically impossible. One cannot escape the conclusion that the corps was moved west because the King was in that sector. When the divisional commanders received Roatta's orders, they replied that it was impossible to retreat from a fortified position while the Germans were attacking. Nevertheless, they carried out the orders.

In the meantime the Germans started the attack. Some units resisted splendidly but in vain. Others surrendered. The officers received no further instructions. The news that the King and his generals had fled spread among the troops with fatal effect. Rome fell to the Germans.

To the Italian forces fighting on foreign ground the General Staff had given a secret order, known as the "OP 44," containing instructions for attack and defense. The Italian Fourth Army in France received this order only on September 7. Italian commanders abroad telephoned Rome to ask whether or not to apply the "OP 44." But no officer of the General Staff was in Rome to answer.

[*Next week Mr. Rossi will analyze the sharpening conflict between the monarchists and the partisans.*]

Lilienthal and the Valley

BY BARRETT C. SHELTON

Decatur, Alabama, May 3

TODAY'S people are thinking of a home-grown agricultural and industrial empire in the Tennessee Valley, an empire built by their own hands and with their own resources. You'll find few defeatists in this Valley. Folks are cocky over the achievements of the past ten years and looking toward a future bright with all sorts of possibilities.

TVA changed the thinking of the people. Their own strength was discovered in them. Now they are building the land, planting and harvesting new income crops, adopting modern marketing and processing methods. New industry, small-scale, home-grown, and home-financed, is developing in community after community as Valley folk digest the belief that the South does not have to wait for industry to move in.

TVA brought the tools of navigation, flood control, lower-cost power, community-planning; it stepped up educational and health standards; it advocated the right uses for the soil, the forests, the minerals. TVA has worked with local and state agencies in fashioning these tools of economic growth. There have been no directives, no edicts, from a centralized government authority. Rather, the general attitude in this Valley, among the people, the local and state agencies, and the TVA, is "Come, let us reason together."

Many visitors come to this Valley. Only the other day a newspaperman from Melbourne, Australia, was here. The Australian wanted to learn whether TVA principles could be applied in Australia. Visitors want the whole truth of the experiment. They want to know how it is working. They want to know whether the TVA principle would work for their community in the river basin whence they come. It is not an uncommon sight in the Tennessee Valley to see farmers, business men, industrialists taking these visitors on tour, answering their questions, telling them the truth about the TVA.

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It is right for us to do these services. This Valley belongs to the United States and the world. What has been learned here can be applied elsewhere. The progress made here can be made elsewhere.

Let me try to answer a few questions that seem to bother folks who cannot come to the Valley to see for themselves. Is TVA sound? Does TVA pay its way? Does TVA pay fair taxation?

Let's be specific. The Electric Department of the city of Decatur, Alabama, pays twice as much tax to the city as was paid by the private utility. At the same time annual savings in electric bills to the consumers on the Decatur system total more than all the ad valorem and license taxes now being collected locally. The state of Alabama is receiving more tax money from TVA than it received from the land now flooded —by the construction of dams—and from the private utility's license and ad valorem taxes in the area now commonly called "TVA territory."

Decatur has the cheapest electric rate in the world for some classifications of residential consumers. Yet even with these rates the department is clearing $100,000 annually on an investment of $600,000. This profit is net, not gross, and there will be further rate reductions. However, the lowering of electric rates is not the major objective of the people of the Tennessee Valley.

Twelve years ago, before TVA was authorized by a far-seeing Congress and went to work, the people of this Valley looked to the outside world for the means of industrial development, thought comparatively little of the sleeping giant, agriculture. All capital, all "know how" had to come from the outside, or so we thought. Today we look back upon our methods of former years and grin at ourselves for our stupidity in economics.

The change was brought about largely through the personal efforts of David E. Lilienthal. Mr. Lilienthal has spoken before community after community in the area, telling us that we will not come upon a brand-new world when these wars are over, that the approach to national soundness must start at the community level, that after these wars personal initiative will still earn a premium, and that the Valley must strive toward self-sufficiency in agriculture and industry.

David Lilienthal is an idealist and a dreamer, but he bases his ideals on the truth of solid economics. And the people have faith in his beliefs and his suggestions for action. A man without confidence that the impossible could be done would never have made a success of the experiment in this Valley. Dave Lilienthal has so captured the imagination of the plain people that they do not hesitate to fight at the smallest suggestion of change in the basic law under which TVA was created or in the personnel of the directorate and management. Honesty of purpose and sound economic practices created that feeling in the Valley.

It is the belief up and down the Valley that only the surface has been scratched, that our opportunities are limited only by our imagination and our energy to activate our dreams of community sufficiency. The record of the past ten years shows the reversal of trends in the Valley; the coming ten years will show how far an area can develop under the dynamic combination of an inspired public servant, a sympathetic government, and a bold, self-confident people.

In the Wind

ENEMIES OF THE OPA have staunch allies in England. A British friend sends us the following clipping from the March 19 issue of the *Daily Film Renter*, a movie-theater trade paper published in London: "Further cable from New York intimated that OPA—who they are I haven't the faintest idea—are asking Congressional authority to control admission prices, stating they are up 38½ per cent since 1941. I suppose it's some well-meaning body who wants to interfere without knowing the slightest thing about the facts. Haven't heard that there's any likelihood of any such control being initiated, and very certain that OPA—whoever they might be—won't get very much satisfaction from the American government. Later cable—Senate committee have turned it down—I thought they would—OPA just a lot of busybodies!"

OVERHEARD IN NEW YORK on May 2: "I don't trust that bum. I don't think he's dead at all. I bet he's skipped to Argentina or some place. Oh, no, that's right, Argentina's on our side now, isn't it?"

THE FOLLOWING AD appears every Sunday in the Norwich, Connecticut, *Record*: "BINGO. Immaculate Conception School, Westerly, R. I. Every Monday, 8:00."

DORIS VORMBROCK, president of the Pan-Hellenic Society at the University of Louisville, Kentucky, told some of the qualifications for sorority membership in an interview in the Louisville *Courier Journal* of April 8: "We try to find out something about a girl's parents before we pledge her, because we want nice people, but the girl herself is what we go by. . . . We don't pledge Jewish girls, but they wouldn't want to join. Our ideals are based on Christianity."

JAMES A. GRIFFIN, Catholic Bishop of Springfield, Illinois, offered this explanation of Roosevelt's death in an address April 17: "While President Roosevelt was a casualty of the war, he was also a casualty of the heartless criticism of his enemies and a casualty of Russia. The perfidy of Russia is notorious. No man can deal with the red elements and hope to survive."

LEGISLATIVE MEMO: The House Judiciary Committee has reported favorably on the so-called "equal rights" amendment, which would nullify all legislation designed to protect women workers. . . . The Senate Commerce Committee is expected to issue a report on the Murray bill (S. 555) for a Missouri Valley Authority by May 15. The bill then will go to the Senate Agriculture and Irrigation committees successively. . . . By a referendum vote of 2,667 to 101, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States has put its O.K. on the Bailey bill (S. 754), which would prohibit royalty payments by industry to representatives of employees. The Judiciary Committee is now considering the bill.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. We will pay $1 for each item accepted.*]

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BOOKS and the ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

TO YOUR LIST of bed-time reading add "The Land of the Great Image" by Maurice Collis. It relates the experiences of an Augustinian friar, Sebastiao Manrique, who was sent to Goa, the capital of Portuguese Asia, early in the seventeenth century. He was later transferred to Bengal and made a journey to the court of Arakan—which forms the principal matter of this book. Arakan is now part of Burma, but it was then an independent kingdom. Mr. Collis begins by presenting a picture of the luxurious decadent city, "Golden Goa," during the last years of Portuguese prosperity. This section includes an account of Francis Xavier, who had landed in Goa in 1542 on his way to convert all Asia and had shocked "high folks" because he insisted on going about barefoot and in rags among the poor and diseased. "White people," they said, "will be despised by the natives because of him, for only if they see us as splendid and magnificent conquerors will we be able to impress upon them that we are a superior race." His mummified body, retrieved from the remote Asian wayside where he died, was brought back to Goa. Needless to say, it was reverently enshrined by the "high folks" and became one of the sights of Goa. This first section also includes an inside account of an auto-da-fé by a French traveler named Dellon, who was caught in the toils of the Inquisition. Dellon had been so indiscreet as to make imprudent remarks about matters of faith—and to visit the mistress of a high official.

All this is interesting enough, but even more fascinating is the account of Manrique's long stay at the court of Arakan and his record of what went on there. It is based on Manrique's "Travels," published after his return to Europe in 1643. The "Travels" cover a great deal more than the material of this book, but they are written in what Vela, the historian of the Augustinian Order, calls *"castellano desastroso"*—a phrase which makes me want to read Vela—and are in any case not easily available. Still, according to Mr. Collis, who has obviously read them in their entirety, even Manrique was roused out of dulness by his adventures in Arakan. "His style in this part," says the narrator patiently, "is generally less tiresome."

Mr. Collis's own style is rather dry, but he has a nice sense of irony, which combines with the reader's to throw into strong relief the story of King Thiri-thu-dhamma, who aspired to become a Buddha and bring perfect government to the world. But he became so obsessed with his mission and desire that he even consented to the murder of many of his own subjects when a master of magic prescribed, in order to prolong the King's life, an elixir of which one ingredient was the essence of six thousand human hearts.

I was just finishing "The Land of the Great Image" when the news of Mussolini's end and the rumors of Nazi surrender came through. For the moment the whole fascist nightmare of the past twenty-three years seemed like another fabulous story from a remote age when dungeons were in flower—except that torture on the scale of Buchenwald and Dachau could not have been achieved without mass-production methods and modern medicine. Eyewitness accounts of the fascist obsession in the twentieth century will have to be even duller and more matter of fact than Manrique's to be believed three hundred years from now.

Unless, of course, we continue to cherish the delusion that only other people, in this case the Germans, are capable of such evil. That can start a new cycle of cruelty which is none the less vile for being based on self-righteousness. Friar Manrique was shocked at the cruelty of the Arakan king—which was, in the king's mad logic, a means to an ideal end—but Manrique himself approved of the Inquisition and of the taking of infidel slaves, and condoned the terrible human consequences of both because of his belief in the infallibility of Rome. "Ideals," says Yeats, "make the blood thin and take the human nature out of people." Certainly that is true of fanaticism, whatever its source.

We are witnessing the most gruesome and complete demonstration in history of the fact that cruelty ends in the moral and even the physical destruction of its perpetrators. Yet the dangerous talk of "doing the same thing" to the Germans goes senselessly on.

Only those people who are willing to take on in person the actual work, from torture to cremation, of paying back the Germans in kind should be allowed to advocate it. And I wouldn't care to associate with any of the volunteers.

SOME NOTES on the American language: A Frenchman reports that he finds the English in *The Nation* quite easy to read but that the language of such papers as the *Daily Mirror* is beyond him. That reminds me of the complaint of a Hungarian friend whose second tongue has been English all his life. Soon after he arrived in this country he said that the talk he heard around New York was spoiling his English. And both remarks bring to mind a statement of Bertrand Russell's, of slightly different import, in an essay in *Horizon:*

> We found, in America, that strangers in shops or buses at first took us for Germans and tolerated our way of speaking, but when they found that English was our native language they became indignant with us for not speaking as they do. It never occurred to them for a moment that the English have some rights in the English language.

He has a point.

THE ADVERTISING FEDERATION OF AMERICA is worried because "public-opinion polls insist that a considerable section of the general public has various prejudices against advertising." A while ago it sent out a letter asking all good media to come to the aid of "the advertising way" of doing business and asking also for $25 with which to combat its enemies. These enemies include legislators and bureaucrats. "Forty Congressmen formed a so-called consumers' bloc, about a year ago, to fight for a program of compulsory govern-

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ment grade labeling, standardization, and *generally socialistic* reform of business (my italics)." The federation is planning to expand its "many-sided national program of education and public relations. . . . In this we utilize numerous avenues of public information including materials used in the schools."

The advertising business has, I think, accomplished one job of education in its long and loud career. It has inculcated in a great many people a skepticism about advertising which will be very hard to eradicate. The excesses of the advertisers have made the whole business a national joke; and the radio commercial in particular has become so blatant and so boring that in retaliation one often refuses to hear it even though one listens. For even if it does not offend the taste, it offends the sense of the ridiculous, which is not confined to any "culture group."

The Barnum law, which the advertising profession has exploited so cynically, worked wonderfully at first; and of course it still works up to a point. But it is a law of diminishing returns. The stress on the opinions of experts is one attempt to overcome the decline; what is called institutional advertising may be another.

I'm curious to know what material is being used in schools and how it is insinuated. It will have to be clever, for even the school kids I know scoff at advertising if only because that's the fashionable thing to do. This does not mean that they are not responsive to advertising, but the fact that it's smart to be skeptical won't make things any easier for the A. F. A.

Someone was suggesting the other day that a firm which advertised its products quietly and by means of under- rather than overstatement would probably be very successful. I pass on this suggestion to the A. F. A.—it seems to me worth at least $25. A long experience of discovering that products were slightly better than the ads say they are—instead of the other way round—might restore the public faith in advertising. But I doubt that so sensible a device will be considered. It is hardly compatible with "the advertising way."

Work of Art

ANGEL IN THE FOREST. By Marguerite Young. Reynal and Hitchcock. $3.

MARGUERITE YOUNG's first prose volume is repetitive, obscure, diffuse, overwritten, tiresomely obsessed with copulation and with analogical images of flowers, insects, and birds, scornful at many points of coherence, continuity, and form; yet it is a book of astonishing subtlety and brilliance, a genuine work of art, and together with her two previous volumes of verse it should establish its author as one of the truly notable writers of her generation. Its faults are in no sense deficiencies. Miss Young, on the contrary, is prodigal of her talent, and her book suffers from her excessive absorption in its theme. She cannot resist the characteristic temptation of gifted writers to give us too much of a good thing. The grandiose failure of two Utopias, George Rapp's and Robert Owen's, is the subject of a prolonged discursive meditation that points up the central, seminal paradoxes of man's relation to society. But this is not an expository or an argumentative work but a contemplative one, something rare these days, and cathartic. It is a true narrative, despite its factual shortcomings, for the same reason that it is in the best sense poetic: it dwells upon those contradictions that are not only the source of history but the only serviceable commentary on it.

The charm and verity of the book, as well as its inexhaustible irony, lie in its ambiguous attitude toward its subject. George Rapp's community was monastic, chiliastic, autocratic; Owen's was the reverse in everything but its communism. For a brief period Rapp's flourished, however, largely by selling whiskey to the natives, and its site was sold at a profit to Owen, who, for all his rationalism and business acumen and benevolence, was speedily proved the more visionary of the two, as his community disintegrated by secession, himself losing four-fifths of his fortune. "Who fails to love this man," says Miss Young, "fails to love humanity."

Miss Young, a native of Indiana, has not only done an extensive job of research on these settlements, as well as on the English background of Owen's career; she has visited New Harmony as one would a museum, or a mausoleum, talked with its citizens, all of whom are "aware of New Harmony's strangeness," finding, she tells us, "in 1940, all kinds of contrasts . . . babies squalled where Rappite celibates had slept profoundly. . . . A whore where there had been an angel. . . . No sky rolling back, no coming of Christ on a golden throne upheld by cherubim, but only a lonely crow, monogamist bird—and an airplane on some mysterious mission of its own, the advertisement of Lucky Strikes, a writing in that sky."

Such poignant incongruities as these largely compose the volume. The irony, indeed, is sometimes gross. Miss Young is continually approaching the border between the ironic and the grotesque, on occasion crossing it, as in her account, wholly fanciful no doubt, of Father Rapp in extreme old age becoming gradually disabused of his millenarian dream. On the whole, the section on the Rappites is much the better half of the book, sharper, more lucid and sardonic, less disfigured by philosophic digressions; the portion on the Owenites tends to embody the confusion it depicts, and the concluding chapters on Owen's unregenerate son, Robert Dale, trail off into irrelevance. Miss Young performs best as a commentator when she is not consciously philosophizing. Indeed, her book tells us in effect that life is an interminable implicit critique of itself, requiring no supplementary hypothesis.

The inherent irony of her material does not, however, explain the great impression her book gives of virtuosity. New Harmony for her is an image of human destiny, the perpetual mixture of exaltation and defeat. The real aesthetic virtue of the book is its inextricable propriety of style to theme. That style is mock evangelical, an almost reverent parody of the King James Bible. It is this exuberant satiric prose that is the embodiment of Miss Young's romanticism, of her doubts about not only rationalism but rationality, of her whimsical concern for whatever is deviant, singular, unique, of her metaphysical delight in fantasy, eccentricity, and madness, of, finally, her sense of life as an incalculable, chaotic thing, meaningful only for those passionate enough to imagine it so.

MARTIN LEBOWITZ

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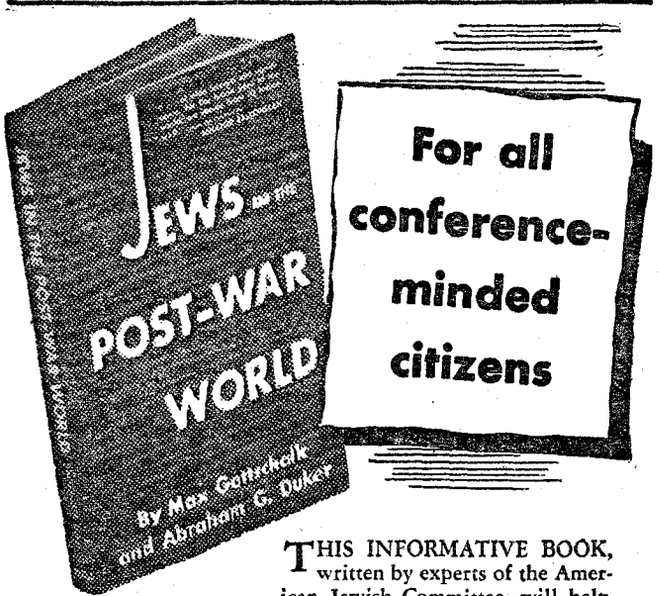
BRIEFER COMMENT

Out of James

"YOU KNOW," says the Princess Casamassima in James's novel, "you know people oughtn't to be both corrupt and dull." It is what George Santayana has pretty well managed to be in "The Middle Span," the second instalment of his memoirs (Scribner, $2.50). The corruption—or at any rate the frankly cynical over-ripeness—we have long been accustomed to; but Santayana has rarely been merely tedious, and certainly "Persons and Places"—no doubt because the materials were those of childhood and adolescence—abounded in interest, humor, and poignancy. There are a few animated moments in this volume—two or three glimpses, for example, of Rockefeller, who on learning from Santayana that there were nineteen million people in Spain, observed at once that his associates didn't sell enough oil there—but in general the book succeeds only in reminding us how successfully Santayana has insulated himself against the life of his time, and what abysses of Latin sentimentality there have always been in his nature.

The real value the book has—indeed, a moderate one—is as a footnote to James's later novels: its pages are filled with the ghosts of real Ververs, real Strethers, real Graham Fielders; and of course, in a sense, Santayana belongs very much in that galley himself. His book confirms our sense of James's uncanny clairvoyance about the American-European cosmopolis of his time. Certain of James's *déracinés*, if they had lived into our decade, might quite imaginably have spoken, as Santayana does, of a young man, his nephew, who joined the Falange in the Spanish civil war: he was, says Santayana, "among the first to catch the new wave of hope and enthusiasm for the moral regeneration of Spain." Santayana's conception of both morals and rebirth have always been a little alien to us: no wonder he felt, in the eighties, that he had to apologize to a visiting English lord for the mean and inelegant appearance of the Harvard Yard.

NEWTON ARVIN



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Argentina Now

FOR THE READER whose principal interest is in contemporary Argentine politics the most striking feature of Ysabel F. Rennie's "The Argentine Republic" (Macmillan, $4) is her analysis of the Nationalist Revolution of 1943, now recognized, in its most totalitarian form, by the United States. Mrs. Rennie's view is almost diametrically opposed to the common, and slovenly expressed, Marxist opinion that the "revolution" was an expression of the landed oligarchy's resistance to the industrialists and their political allies. The author points out that the new society, intended to be Catholic and corporate, is Falangist. Nationalist conceptions strongly favor industrialization as a means of "de-colonializing" the country. The church is held to be only reservedly sympathetic to this new regime, which signifies the end of government by and for the *estancieros*. This view is in the main well expressed, though it is impossible not to believe that it is a hazardous over-simplification. Its chief point of value would seem to be that it calls attention to the most important aspect of the Argentine economy, the imbalance between the agrarian and cattle-breeding interior and the partially industrialized littoral. The earlier parts of the book are of very great value, particularly the two chapters on the land. In fact, despite the reservations made above, it must be said that Mrs. Rennie's book is a quite superior one and deserves to stand beside the Felix Weil volume recently reviewed here.

RALPH BATES

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A more appropriate moment could hardly have been selected for publication of "Time to Plan" by Lewis Lorwin (Harper, $3), who was one of the pioneer advocates of social and economic planning in the United States. Despite its imperative title, the book is not argumentative in tone. It is historical and philosophical, concerning itself with the basic problem of our time—the reconciliation of centralized planning and democracy. Lorwin has no one solution for this problem; he believes that different countries may work out different answers. In the United States he sees the government not as the determiner of all economic activities but as an arbiter among our many economic groups, so that their rivalry may be subordinated to the interests of the nation as a whole. For leadership he believes that America will not look to business, labor, or even the middle class but to a composite leadership which "will become one with the 'plain people.'" He also lays great stress on the necessity for international planning for making the maximum use of natural resources and the raising of living standards throughout the world. This would be done, not by any single agency, but by a series of international organizations and by industrial, trade and commodity, and financial agreements between economic groups and governments in the various countries. Space does not permit the tracing of the details of this organization here, but it is so logical and realistic that even the most diehard opponents of planning are likely to find themselves persuaded if they can overcome their prejudices sufficiently to read the book.

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FICTION IN REVIEW

"The Big Uncensored Fun"

SINCE I myself was caught by the teasing title of Helen Haberman's "How About Tomorrow Morning?" (Prentice-Hall, $2.50) I suppose I should warn you at once that the name has very little to do with the content of the novel —about as much, say, as the name of a cold cream has to do with *its* content. Mrs. Haberman's book is about the advertising business; its heroine, Tina, of the doll-like body and the giant energies, makes $40,000 a year promoting Caress Cosmetics before she goes amateur in favor of cooperatives. The novel's title, then, can be thought of as an advertising slogan—Tina applying her promotional talents to the merchandising of fiction. There is also the biographical material supplied by the author for the dust-jacket of the book, which caught my attention and seems to me to be worth study as an expression of the advertising approach to the creation of literature. Here are the last lines of Mrs. Haberman's intellectual history:

> And books! Emerson and Arnold and Wordsworth, the college loves, and in the last few years Henry James, volume after volume of James.
>
> The intake growing bigger and bigger all the time and not enough outlet in the neat, tight pieces of advertising copy. Sublimating it with photography for years. Then bursting out with the great big lush luxurious form. The novel. The most fun of anything I've ever done. The big uncensored fun.

Actually, of course, "How About Tomorrow Morning?" turned out to be neither uncensored nor fun: it was clearly not the intention of the author to disclose what she does disclose both of herself and her sex; and to take the book at all, one must take it quite seriously, as a social document. Because Mrs. Haberman's novel avoids the royalist excesses of Ilka Chase's "In Bed We Cry," the lyrical excesses of a book like Ayn Rand's "The Fountainhead," and the excesses of infantilism of Rose Franken's Claudia stories, it has an unusual awful authenticity as a portrait of the modern female psyche. The fact that women novelists are always held to speak for their whole sex, as men novelists never are, is manifestly a measure of the extent of the "woman problem"; nevertheless, "How About Tomorrow Morning?" is the last book in the world to be exempt from this typicality. Indeed, I can think, at the moment, of no better single exhibit of the mind and spirit that forms, and is formed by, the higher-tensioned women's magazines.

In the first place, there is the quality of its sexual narcissism. A current advertisement addressed to women bears the legend "You have never been so pretty," and this effectively sums up the attitude toward herself of Mrs. Haberman's heroine. When Tina wrinkles her nose in that adorable way of hers, when she looks in the mirror to be so childishly pleased with what she sees, life imitates the advertiser's art with an embarrassing fidelity. Similarly, Tina's emotional plight is expressed in the clichés of duty and self-fulfilment that support and surround the advertising in women's magazines. Someone once told me that furniture, table settings, clothes, and so on are described in such careful detail in

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popular women's fiction in order to focus the reader's attention on *objects* and thus make her more receptive to advertising. And although there is no such conscious process involved in "How About Tomorrow Morning?" the emotional symbols it employs unmistakably betray the commercial association. When, for instance, Mrs. Haberman wishes to suggest the nervous breakdown threatening her heroine, she has Tina constantly thwarted in her efforts at interior decoration: because of her emotional conflicts Tina can somehow never manage to make her rooms look right. Also her servants are discontented, and she neglects entertaining the people who could be of use to her doctor-husband.

At twenty-three Tina earned $10,000 a year. Advanced to $15,000, she is bitter because male chauvinism still refuses her her right to see the clients, to be on the contact front. Tina conquers the sexual obstacle in her career by taking her agency's chief client as her lover: she achieves the contact front, and her earnings increase apace. But having profited to the extent of an East River town apartment, a home in the country, and the equipment to maintain both, she discovers that in the process she has lost her soul. While visiting in New Hampshire she has a nervous collapse and is nursed back to health by a refugee doctor.

It is this healer of body and soul who introduces Tina to the salvation of cooperatives. Throughout the book cooperatives have been the deep motif of idealism sounding against the thin tinkling music of success in the crass world of advertising. Tina throws up her job and decides to devote herself to the national cooperative movement. All the old bounce immediately reasserts itself; before you can say "Sweden" Tina has begun to apply the techniques for selling cosmetics to selling social progressivism; and we are assured that when cooperatives pall or fail, there will always be some cause which could use Tina's advertising genius. This is of course the point at which Mrs. Haberman speaks most unconsciously but most contemporaneously for her sex. For what she is saying, in substance, is that the realm in which competitiveness and egoism operate has only to be a socially good realm for the competitiveness and egoism not to matter. She is also saying—though if she were made aware of its reactionary implications, I dare say she would be uneasy—that if you remove the obvious money drive from female careerism, you remove the source of all emotional conflict. One wants to remind Mrs. Haberman of that older salvation of the well-placed woman, philanthropy. The circle has come full swing, even though Lady Bountiful wields a typewriter instead of a wicker basket.

I am sure that the author of "How About Tomorrow Morning?" intended her novel as an objectified comment upon the sad condition of the successful career woman. But Mrs. Haberman has so little creative superiority to her material—she doesn't recognize, for instance, that the solution of Tina's problems is part and parcel of Tina's whole career—that the book has its considerable interest only as an item of the contemporary confusion. Tina's cultural color, her social ambitions, her mean little educated tastes and values, are dyed deep into the whole of Mrs. Haberman's literary effort. What price then—Mrs. Haberman herself forces the question—Emerson, Arnold, and Wordsworth, and volume after volume of James?

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

ON COLUMBIA'S May list is Mozart's Symphony K.551 (usually referred to as the "Jupiter") performed by Bruno Walter with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra (Set 565; $4.50). The performance is very good—which is to say that it achieves the grand style which the utterance should have; it is in fact surprisingly good in view of Walter's emotional softness and flabbiness, which this time manifests itself only in the slowing down of one passage in the first movement. And it remains very good, even though Beecham's performance in the old Columbia set imparts greater majesty to the first movement, greater power to certain passages in the second (Walter plays the second movement without the mutes which my score prescribes for the violins and violas; Beecham uses them on the first side but not on the second!). In one respect Walter's performance is better: his pace for the minuet movement is sufficiently animated, whereas Beecham's is unacceptably slow. And Beecham's performance comes off the records without the brightness of the sound of his later Mozart recordings. The recorded sound of the Walter performance I will speak of in a moment.

In addition, Brahms's Fourth Symphony is performed by Ormandy with the Philadelphia Orchestra (Set 567; $5.50). This, for me, is Brahms's finest large-scale work; its best recorded performance, for me, remains Weingartner's in the old Columbia set; what makes that performance good, for me, is its steadiness of pace, and particularly the single tempo maintained, as Brahms evidently wished, throughout the series of varied repetitions of the opening eight-measure statement in the concluding passacaglia. And Ormandy's performance is poor, for me, because of his lack of feeling for continuity in pace—his tasteless preparatory retardations, his whipping up of the end of the first movement, his slowing down of the beginning of the second, his changes of tempo which prevent the repetitions in the finale from building up their cumulative impact.

And finally Stravinsky's "Scènes de Ballet" is performed by Stravinsky himself with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony (Set X-245; $2.50). This is the music which he wrote for Markova's scene in Billy Rose's "Seven Lively Arts"; and like "Danses Concertantes" it is expertly put together but horrid stuff which invites use for dance purposes—but the purposes of a Balanchine, not of a Dolin.

As for the recorded sound of these performances, I will discuss Columbia's results in relation to its purpose, which one of its executives told me is to make recordings that will sound good on what he called "standard machines." First let me describe what machines I play the recordings on. One is my own, a wide-range amplifier and speaker-system with which I use (1) a Brush PL-25 pickup that gives the entire reproducing set-up a frequency-range sufficient for the 8,500 cycles of the widest-range (highest-fidelity) commercial recording, or (2) an Astatic Tru-tan pickup that limits the frequency-range of the set-up to 4,500 or 5,000 cycles. And sometimes I check with a friend's Scott "23," whose single speaker gives it a range of about 6,500 cycles with the Brush, and 4,500 or 5,000 again with the Astatic. Now I have reason to believe that what that Columbia executive means by a "standard machine" is one of limited range, like my friend's or my own when used with the Astatic pickup, which is stand-

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JULY 2 — SEPTEMBER 8

STAFF: ERWIN BODKY, piano and harpsichord; CAROL BRICE, contralto; FRANCES SNOW DRINKER, flute; ALFRED EINSTEIN, music history; ROLAND HAYES, tenor; EVA HEINITZ viola da gamba and cello; HEINRICH JALOWETZ, conductor; HUGO KAUDER, composer; EDWARD LOWINSKY, music history; GRETEL LOWINSKY, viola; JOSEF MARX, oboe and English horn; TRUDI STRAUS, violin; WILLIAM VALKENIER, horn; EMANUEL ZETLIN, violin. • GORDON STRING QUARTETTE.

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IMPORTANT READING
in the April CONTEMPORARY JEWISH RECORD

THE STATELESS PEOPLE
Hannah Arendt
In western Europe before the war millions who had fled political persecution took refuge in "statelessness"—they preferred French concentration camps to deportation to their "homelands." Other millions were made stateless by decree. The war has added to their number—Russians and Czechs who fought in Hitler's armies, Poles who fought with the British, ELAS partisans, have become men without a country. How can they be assured human rights? The newest political phenomenon is subjected to searching analysis by Hannah Arendt, whose brilliant articles on European developments have attracted wide attention.

PALESTINE IN THE CHANGING MIDDLE EAST
Bernard D. Weinryb
Britain's rivals in the Middle East—Italy, Germany and France—have been eliminated in the course of the war, but the United States and Russia have new interests in that area. The war-induced industrialization of the Arab lands brings further problems. Dr. Weinryb, who formerly taught economics in Jerusalem, soberly and frankly examines the new political constellation in the Middle East.

THOMAS MANN'S "JOSEPH": A Humanist Myth...*Harold Rosenberg*
ANTI-SEMITISM IN BRITAIN.....*George Orwell*
POEMS FROM THE WARSAW GHETTO.....*A. Glanz-Leyeless*
FRANZ WERFEL'S SELF-HATRED.....*Henry Rubin*

BOOK REVIEWS
by Sidney Hook, Bertram D. Wolfe, Solomon F. Bloom and Robert Pick.

The CONTEMPORARY JEWISH RECORD is pleased to announce the appointment of Elliot E. Cohen as editor. Under Mr. Cohen's editorship, the magazine will be issued as a monthly, beginning next fall. Clement Greenberg is managing editor.

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ard in the sense that it, or worse, is what most people have in their homes. As for making recordings that will sound good on such a machine, my experience has taught me that the right way to do that is to make them so that they sound good on wide-range machines, like my friend's or my own when used with the Brush pickup. When I speak of my experience I have in mind things like Victor's recordings of the Toscanini-N. B. C. Symphony performance of the finale of "Götterdämmerung" and the Golschman-St. Louis Symphony performance of Sibelius's Seventh, Columbia's imported recordings of the Beecham-London Philharmonic performances of Mozart's "Linz" and "Prague" Symphonies, Columbia's own recording of the Mitropoulos-Minneapolis Symphony performance of Mahler's First: these are magnificent when reproduced by my wide-range set-up, and continue to sound well with my limited-range one. On the other hand when Columbia's new recordings of the New York Philharmonic's performances of Mozart's K. 551 and Tchaikovsky's "Pathétique" and the Philadelphia Orchestra's performance of Brahms's Fourth are reproduced by my wide-range set-up they come out with an over-emphasis of high frequencies insufficiently balanced by middle and low that makes them strident; but they lose this stridency with my limited-range set-up. This method of making recordings that sound good on limited-range machines is only partially successful, since the recordings still do not sound as good as the ones made the other way. And it does not always have even that much success—the Philadelphia Orchestra recording of Beethoven's Seventh remaining strident even with the limited range. As for Stravinsky's "Scènes de Ballet," the engineer's hand appears to have slipped, producing a recording which is excellent on both wide-range and limited-range machines.

LETTERS TO JUDD

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Films

JAMES AGEE

THE script of "Counter-Attack" was written by John Howard Lawson, and the picture was directed by Zoltan Korda, who wrote and directed "Sahara." Barring the beginning and a few shots which show the Russians building and crossing an underwater bridge, it is one of those specialized pictures, like "Lifeboat," in which the problem is to keep a movie alive and exciting in limited space. (Here two Russians and eight Germans, trapped in a shelled basement, with limited light, wrestle out their national and class traits.) It isn't really such a hard problem as might offhand be imagined, since rigorous form and self-denial furnish their own tensions and suggest many of their own solutions. It seems to me for that matter rather a ham one. But the director and writer and camera man (James Wong Howe) and most of the cast are to be complimented on solving it, most of the time, very intelligently, without much resort to trick incident or emotional balderdash. The Germans, indeed, like all the supporting players in "Sahara," are out of a class with anything you can ordinarily see in a contemporary American-made fiction film; so is Korda's handling of them except when each steps forward and does his histrionic equivalent to the old cliché in which each girl in the chorus line executed a solo Charleston—but it looks as if that should be blamed chiefly on the script. These enemies, incidentally, are presented as individuals, not as congenital criminals; one of them even comes over to the Russian side, and does so without any blathering about repentance. Paul Muni, excellent in his quieter moments, is too often an over-generalized, stagy embodiment of Russia. There is a certain amount of complacent formula about the picture, of a kind nearer Russian than American (the original story is Russian), but there is a lot of aesthetic and psychological good to it, too. I think it is worth seeing; and I expect that any Lawson-Korda picture is going to be.

Greer Garson has kinds of vitality and resource which might do very good kinds of work, but ordinarily they are turned into wax. She is waxen in stretches of "The Valley of Decision," and embarrassingly actressy in some others; but quite often too, as an Irish servant in a rich Scottish household, she is alive, vivid, and charming, and suggests how really good she might be under better circumstances. If she were not suffocated and immobilized by Metro's image of her—and, I'm afraid, half-persuaded of it herself—I could imagine her as a very good Lady Macbeth. I could still more easily imagine her as a wonderful Elisabeth Ney (the half-sane sculptress who reduced Schopenhauer to a drooler and left the court of Ludwig of Bavaria for a rotting estate in Texas). But I suppose the best she will ever be allowed is this sort of short trot in preconditioned open air. Tay Garnett's direction is good, too good to be wasted on big, solemn, expensive trash-collections like this.

CONTRIBUTORS

THOMAS MANN, one of the greatest of living writers, is a voluntary exile from Nazi Germany. His famous letter to the dean of the philosophical faculty of the University of Bonn was published in *The Nation* of March 6, 1937, under the title "I Accuse the Hitler Regime."

MARIO ROSSI is a former member of the Italian underground now in the United States.

BARRETT SHELTON is editor of the *Decatur Daily*, Decatur, Alabama.

MARTIN GUMPERT is a well-known physician and writer on health. Among his books are "Dunant: The Story of the Red Cross," and "Heil Hunger: Health Under Hitler."

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

For Federation

Dear Sirs: It is frequently said, "Yes, world federation is the ultimate goal, but Dumbarton Oaks is the best we can do now." But Dumbarton Oaks is not even a small step toward world federation. It proposes a new League, and there is nothing federal about it. One fundamental principle of federation is that laws properly passed by law-making authority should apply only to individuals or corporations. In the United States state officials are subject to federal law as individuals, but Congress does not have the authority to pass laws governing states in their corporate capacities nor does the Executive have the power to use the military to enforce a decision of the Supreme Court against a state.

I suggest that, in a limited field, the United Nations organization delegate to the Assembly powers to make laws effective upon individuals or corporations. At first this delegation must be limited to fields in which there is almost universal agreement, such as the control of illicit international traffic in opium and the punishment of war criminals.

Dumbarton Oaks has not recognized sufficiently the necessity of creating a world opinion and a sense of world citizenship. If Mr. Smith, an American citizen, goes to France, he obeys the laws of France or is tried and punished by a French court. I suggest that if Mr. Smith engages in the illicit international opium traffic, he be apprehended by international police, tried before an international court, and incarcerated in an international prison. Law-abiding citizens everywhere would begin to see that these laws were made for their protection and benefit. In actual practice a sense of world citizenship would develop. As confidence increases and necessity dictates, more powers, though still limited, could be delegated to our international assembly. Within twenty or thirty years we should have developed a true international bill of human rights which, if properly enforced on individual violators, would stop would-be Hitlers before they control even one government. This is the true, though difficult, road to peace.

Our forefathers created an effective federation from which the United States of America developed. Are we so bound by the fetish of unlimited national sovereignty, that popular adaptation of the ancient and foreign idea of the divine right of kings, and so limited in vison and courage, that we cannot or will not plant even a tiny seed for world federation? WALLACE T. PARTCH

Oakland, Cal., April 23

Browder vs. Del Vayo

Dear Sirs: Earl Browder's reply in the *New Masses* of April 3 to Mr. del Vayo's V-Day and Revolution, published in your March 17 issue, is a weak argument in support of the Communist position. Browder states that defeatism is the abiding danger of the non-Marxist left. But perhaps it is appeasement of capitalism that is the real defeatism.

Del Vayo says: "Only through a planned economy and through solutions very close to socialism have the rebuilders of Europe any reasonable chance of success. The day of effective capitalist control is over; the trend of Europe is toward the left. If the democratic powers had been willing to gear their foreign policy to this trend, the change to a socialized society might have been a peaceful one. They have not done so; instead they have moved from one costly experiment in reaction to another, and in doing so they have only promoted revolution."

To Browder this is defeatism of the worst sort. He says, "Now if this is to be taken as a correct description of the dominant current in world affairs, then indeed the military victory over the Axis will be only the curtain-raiser to World War III."

But although Mr. del Vayo's statement may be a bit strong, he neither implies a third world war nor advocates revolution. What he does say is the plain truth.

To secure permanent peace we must work in the direction of socialist democracy as opposed to the continuance of a decadent capitalist democracy. True liberals and Socialists should spread this thought. Work in this direction is not "defeatism" as the Communists have played up the word. The Communist Political Association has deviated from this course toward a species of appeasement of capitalism—at least in America.

CHARLES T. CARPENTER

Placerville, Cal., April 18

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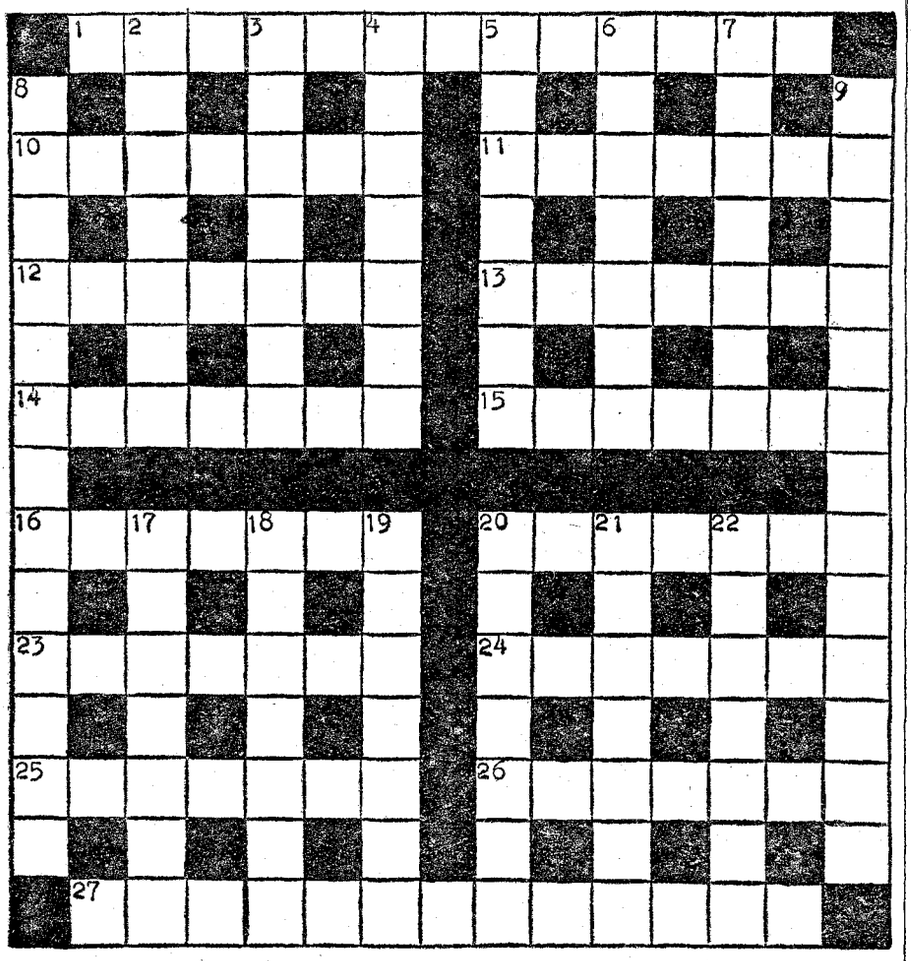
Crossword Puzzle No. 115

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 American statesman (two words, 6 and 7). (He reminded Sidney Smith of a steam engine in trousers)
10 "I'm her Pa" (anag.)
11 A Fuzzy-wuzzy
12 "An agreement between two members of a legislative body holding opposite opinions to refrain from voting so that both may absent themselves" (Whew!)
13 Likely to be found in the laundry, but Shaw is mixed up in it
14 Safety valves? Could be
15 "------- his fib or sophistry in vain! The creature's at his dirty work again" (Pope)
16 "He that hath wife and children hath given -------s to fortune" (Bacon)
20 It would hardly do for a True Story magazine
23 French explorer who traced the Mississippi to its mouth (two words, 2 and 5)
24 A hare in its first year
25 Wrapping in silver paper?
26 Set free
27 Where road transport gets even with the railroad (two words, 5 & 8)

DOWN

2 A believer, apparently, is just the reverse!
3 Conceive
4 Center of the porcelain industry in France
5 Gave a dowry, so is mostly an injunction to marry
6 The pineapple, for example
7 Even if you knock his block off the thrower-out will still be victor
8 Plea of the political extremist on the road in England (four words, 4, 2, 3 and 4)
9 Elver's poor Pa? (two words, 6 & 7)
17 The Pope's chapel in the Vatican
18 Knowing everything — or the Cockney's rendition of "Always" (hyphen, 3-4)
19 C. I. Green, thoroughly upset, is exhibiting energy
20 Sicily's chief city
21 Mutinies
22 Good buy

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 114

ACROSS:—1 BOOMERANG; 6 PINTS; 9 VIRTUES; 10 AVARICE; 11 NEEDIER; 12 CAST OFF; 13 TEE; 15 DUFFEL; 17 ADVICE; 18 ONION; 19 SIGNET; 22 TALMUD; 25 UGH; 27 COLLEEN; 28 ANAGRAM; 30 OPEROSE; 31 TRENTON; 32 HOYLE; 33 DUNDREARY.

DOWN:—1 BAVIN; 2 OURSELF; 3 ELUSIVE; 4 ASSERT; 5 GLANCE; 6 PRAISED; 7 NAIROBI; 8 SHEFFIELD; 14 EXING; 15 DISHCLOTH; 16 LOT; 17 ANT; 20 GALLERY; 21 EYESORE; 23 AMATEUR; 24 MARITZA; 25 UNBEND; 26 HASTEN; 29 MONEY.

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